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Moosonee Metis and Non-Status Indian Association

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MOOSONEE, ONTARIO
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Rec'd Dec. 23 1982 HS
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SUBMISSION

to

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

on the

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Implementation into the Environment Assessment Act

Prepared by the

MOOSONEE METIS & NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION

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M.M.N.S.I.A.

Kim McComb
Ontario Metis Association

December 8, 1982

INTRODUCTION

This submission is made by the Moosonee Metis & Non-Status Indian Association. Though the mandate of the association is to represent the interests of the Metis and Non-Status persons of this region, it is trite to state that when dealing with environmental issues the interests of all peoples of the region who have a common tie to the land based upon a spiritual belief* in their duty to protect, conserve and manage the environment wisely cannot be segregated. Thus, interests and concerns of all of the Aboriginal peoples of the James Bay Area and not only those of the Metis & Non-Status peoples will be expressed throughout.

It is noteworthy that the stated means of accomplishing the purpose of the Environmental Assessment Act are also through the protection, conservation and wise management of the environment.

PURPOSE:

The purpose of this submission is to suggest how the voice of the Aboriginal People of James Bay Area can be made more effective in the decision making process.

In doing so, we will focus on the Environmental Assessment Act as one of the major decision making structures in place and indicate throughout what some of the cultural distinctions are between the Aboriginal peoples and those other citizens in Ontario largely of Anglo European Ancestry; and, how those differences determine the strength of our input into decisions affecting the North under the Act. We will also make suggestions for changes in that legislation that we feel will assist in allowing our contributions to the decision making process to be more effective.

The framework upon which we proceed is an understanding that different cultures will produce different mechanisms to reach a decision. Just as

* The Aboriginal people's belief is that they have a duty to speak on behalf of all living things that do not have a voice of their own.

many European states, over time, evolved statutory law for their better administration, a form of law suitable within the parameters of their existence to determine what actions could and could not be taken with the sanction of the state; other cultures, such as the various native cultures in North America also developed their own decision making processes suitable within the framework of their existance to determine what actions could and could not be taken with the sanction of their nation or dominant group.

Though the European influence in North America has been overwhelming and all of the Nations and provinces existing here today are administered through the application of statutory law such as the Environmental Assessment Act of Ontario and regulations passed pursuant to such legislation; many aboriginal groups still rely heavily upon their old decision making processes which don't fit conveniently within the mould set down by our statutes and thus to this point, the inability or unwillingness of our aboriginal people to fit within a basically European decision making framework has meant that their voices have often been ineffective or unheard.

We will start with a brief review of procedures under the E.A.A. and then we will review the traditional decision making processes of the aboriginal peoples. Many of the inconsistencies between these processes will be obvious on their face.

PROCEDURE UNDER THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT ACT

The first question that must be asked is 'How effective can anyone be, aboriginal or not, is contributing to the protection, conservation and management of the environment by complying completely with and being totally effective within the parameters set down by the E.A.A.?'

The act itself is broadly speaking, a means of allowing input into deciding what undertakings can and cannot be proceeding with in Ontario

Under the E.A.A. whenever someone proposes to carry out any undertaking that proponent must complete and submit an Environmental Assessment to the Minister of the Environment who then causes a review of that assessment to be made. What must be contained in that assessment is outlined in section 5 of the Act. It is fairly comprehensive especially when one considers the all exclusive nature of the definitions of environment under the Act. To prepare and review such an assessment will require some obvious engineering, biological, anthropological and sociological expertise.

Notice of the assessment and review is then given under s.7(1)(b) of the Act to the public and number of other persons. Specifically, the proponent, the clerk of each municipality where the undertaking is or will be carried out and such others as the Minister considers necessary and advisable. This notice among other things states where the assessment and the review and within a time frame set down in the s7(1)(b) notice make written notice to the Minister requiring a hearing. If such a hearing is required, the Minister then, in his own discretion, will determine whether the requirements if frivolous or vexatious and whether a hearing is unnecessary or would cause undue delay.

In order to be effective through these stages then, one must receive notice in an effective manner. That is, it must be brought to his attention and in an understandable fashion. He must be able to get physically to the assessment and the review to inspect them. He must have the expertise to understand them and because of the time frame he must either be organized specifically to respond to the assessment and review or find himself without other commitments during that period. All of these, of course, will effect the quality of the written submission and thus the manner in which the Minister will exercise his discretion under s12(2)(b) to determine whether to proceed with a hearing, and the weight that the submission will be given at any subsequent hearing.

If there is subsequently a hearing before the Environmental Assessment Board to determine whether or not an environmental assessment will

be accepted or whether approval will be given to proceed with an undertaking on what terms and conditions if any will be attached to such approval, then the most effective involvement will likely be as a party to the hearings which would allow one to examine and cross examine evidence, make submissions to the board and explore the possibilities of any appeal or judicial review of adverse decisions. To be most effective at this point would obviously require legal expertise, and professional commitment. The Parties to the hearing will be the proponent, the person who required the hearing and person the Board specifies as having an interest in the proceedings or having regard to the purposes of the Act.

The above is a fairly general and simplistic outline of procedures under the E.A.A. and is used only for the purpose of illustrating what is necessary to be truly effective in the decision making process within the parameters set down by that Act. When one considers the circumstances of the Aboriginal Peoples in the James Bay Area; that is

- a large portion of them are in isolated communities that can be reached by airplane only, there are no roads connecting the communities and the train lines stop short of James Bay at Moosonee
- lack of media input in the James Bay Area. Total absence of Cree in media
- many of the people, especially the elders who have retained much of the local knowledge and history of the area through the oral tradition do not speak English
- high drop out rates in the school system and, therefore, a low level of scientific, anthropological and sociological expertise that would be necessary to assess and constructively criticize and respond to an environmental assessment and the Ministry's review thereof
- almost total lack of research facilities in their communities
- extended periods of time spent away from the communities on trap lines in the winter months.
- commitments of time towards satisfaction of basic needs. Many residences are without electricity or running water, so a fair portion of time is often spent gathering firewood and hauling water to the houses.

it is apparent that almost all of the time and energy of the people are required for immediate survival; and though their concerns for the protections, conservations and wise management of the environment are immeasurable, because of the lack of resources, their concerns may not be

(possibly cannot be) adequately represented within the parameters of the E.A.A. as it now stands. This is even without considering the difficulties of accomodating the dicision making process under that Act to the traditional modes of decision making among the aboriginal peoples.

At this point we submit that the following would contribute to a more effective input from the aboriginal peoples of the James Bay Area into the decision making within the parameters of the E.A.A..

-Notice under section 7(1)(b) of the assessment and review should be made in the Cree Language as well as English and sent to all band offices and aboriginal representative groups within the Treaty area where the undertaking is or will be carried out.

For the purpose of notice under s7(1)(b) where an undertaking is being or will be carried out within a treaty area all bands and aboriginal representative groups should be designated to receive notice as being 'necessary and advisable'.

The assessment and reviews themselves should be translated into the Cree and Ojibway languages so that the non-English speaking peoples could have a record of what it is they are entitles to inspect and respond to.

-time many of the people live in isolated communities, copies of the assessment and reviews should be make available in those communities. It is unrealistic to expect that they can afford the expense of travel to inspect them.

An environmental watchdog group should be set up with the responsibility of representing the interests of the aboriginal peoples in re-viewing and responding to the assessment and Ministry's review thereof. As both the assessment and review are professionally written, such a group would require the funding to hire full time staff with the expertise to investigate, review and respond in a professional and effective manner. Such a group should be accountable to the aboriginal qroups. Otherwise its finding and submission will be viewed with the same suspicion, however valid they may be, as government representations are today.

Funding should also be made available for proper ongoing legal advise and representation at hearings of the Environmental Assessment Board.

Aboriginal groups should be designated by the Environment Assessment Board as persons who have an interest in the proceedings whenever the undertaking being considered is or will be carried out within their treaty area for the purpose of being made a party to any hearing.

Now that we have briefly reviewed procedure under the E.A.A. and have suggested some means by which the aboriginal people of this area can have a more effective voice in decision making within a parameters of the Act, we can look at the original question of how effective they, or any group, can be in contributing to the protection, conservation, and wise management of the environment by complying with and being completely effective within the parameters set down by the E.A.A..

The answer, we submit, can be found by looking at what the Act does. It reviews and makes decisions with regards to an undertaking. An undertaking is defined in s1(0) of the Act as:

- i) an enterprize or activity or a proposal, plan or program in respect of an enterprize or activity by or on behalf of Her Majesty, in right of Ontario, by a public body or public bodies or by a municipality or municipalities, or
- ii) a major commercial or business enterprize or activity or a proposal, plan or program in respect of a major commercial or business enterprize or activity of a person or persons other than a person or person referred to in subclause (i) that is designated by the regulation

Despite this limited definition of what an undertaking is and thus what projects must comply with the requirements of the Environmental Assessment Act, the regulations under that Act go on to list a number of exemptions from the requirements on the basis of the cost of the undertaking and who carried it out; neither of which are adequate determinants of the extent of the repercussions either positive or negative, that the project will have on the environment.

The regulations for example, exempt undertakings and classes of undertaking by or on behalf of the provincial government and carried out by the Minister of Revenue, Labour, Correctional Services, Colleges and Universities, Consumer and Commerical Relations, Education, Health, Agriculture and Food, and Housing as well as by the Attorney General and the Solicitor General. (Regulation 293 RRO 1980 s.7) and many other projects is the cost of the project is less two million dollars (Regulation 293 RRO 1980 s.5(3)) or less than one million dollars (Regulation 293 RRO 1980 s.9(2)(c)).

Thus in many instances, the potential effect of any undertaking upon the environment becomes secondary to who is carrying it out and what it is costing the proponent. The limited definition of what is an undertaking and the exemptions provided a floodgate for activity potentially dangerous to the environment, over which the Environmental Assessment Board and thus any other group that could have some input within the parameters of the Environmental Assessment Act would have no control.

We submit Mr. Commissioner, that for any persons, including the Aboriginal Peoples of the James Bay Area to have an effective voice in the protection, conservation and wise management of the environment within the parameters of the E.A.A. will require that the act be ammended to include a much broader definition of an undertaking and a revision of the exemptions so that they more adequately reflect the potential for change in the environment that who is carrying out the project and how much it costs.

We will now move on to the traditional method of decision making and discuss the means by which it can be incorporated into the procedures under the E.A.A. to allow for a more effective voice on the part of the peoples of this region.

TRADITIONAL DECISION MAKING

The Aboriginal peoples method of arriving at a decision was accomplished through informal means but with culturally define rules. Before

Reserves systems and the formal elections for Chief and Band Council the Native people had a viable mechanism for the selection of leaders. This method of decision making was used in all matters that pertained to the social, political and economic stability of the Band or Group. The leaders were men of quality, who were the spokes person for their people. The leader under no circumstances should have made impulsive decisions regarding their particular Band or group. These leaders were not autocratic - they represented the vested interests of their people.

The ultimate decision laid with the people. Talks would be carried on within households, in group situations and generally whenever two or more people got together. By the time, the community reorganized for the final decision, a general consensus would have been reached by the people. In turn, the meeting would basically reflect this attitude. The leader would then know his people's feelings and concerns. From this point the leader would act in good faith in representing his people.

Today with the formalization of Reserves and elections for leaders, the people continue to use this process to arrive at necessary decisions. The process of deciding begins within the extended family units. The build up of the process is then discussed at the community level. In this manner the pros and cons of the topic under review can be talked about without fear of being embarrassed. This method also tends to avoid

certain amount of coercion, as one is not publically, intimidated to commit himself against their wishes. The decision is the result of a consensus of the various kin-grouping and the majority of feelings towards the situations effecting the social political and economic base of the people.

The topics under discussion may have changed over the years to accomodate intrusions from the modern world, but the processes of reaching a decision are similar to those used throughout time.

The incorporation of the Native way of decision making under the Environmental Assessment Act can be implemented in various sections. In this way the responses of the people to be effected by the undertaking can be given equal opportunity to positively contribute to be proposed

activity or be given adequate time limits to conduct their own research, thereby reaching other conclusions. The sections to which Native assistance can be utilized are as follows:

- i) upon notification of an undertaking the Minister shall make the community to be involved aware of the proposed study upon receipt of the undertakings submission. This should be fulfilled out of due respect, irregardless of whether or not the submission for the undertaking is approved or rejected by the Minister E.A.A. s7(1)(b).
- ii) the assessment would be more beneficial to those people concerned about the proposed undertaking if it was issued in the language of the people, in this case, specifically Cree and where applicable in Ojibwa.
- iii) these notices should be sent to offices of the Chief & Band Council, Local Metis and Non-Status Indian Associations, plus other interested groups, in a way that is appropriate and intelligible to the people.
- iv) to make a justifiable submission, the time restraints would have to be extended (E.A.A.s7(2)(b)). By allowing the availability of time the concerned peoples would be able to make necessary written research submission, as well as allowing the community to arrive at a decision which is appropriate for them and those to come.
- v) when the Minister gives notice that the proponent carry out further research, investigations, and studies with regard to environmental assessment, and independant body should be incorporated to carry out this task, so as to present a more objective overview.
- vi) when the Minister sets up a Board, people from the North should be appointed to the committee, so that equal representation will be maintained by the members of the Board.
- vii) funding be made available for Aboriginal peoples to conduct their own research in a comprehensive way.

Up until this time the process of involving the people North of the 50° leaves alot to be desired. There should be little satisfaction on the part of the government knowing this fact. With the initiation of

development projects in the North, there was a definite lack of understanding for cultural concerns, the environment was neglected and pollution was given a free hand to wreak havoc upon the people, wildlife and waterways. These instances abound in many places. For example a) The Abitibi River was dammed, stopping the natural flow of the waterways. Due to the diversion of the river it is no longer suitable to travel on and the fish have completely disappeared. b) In Winisk, Ontario, a Radar Base was built by the Federal Government. Ten years later the Radar Base was completely shut down. All the people went home, leaving their mess behind to rot and rust. Now, again the government is using the Winik area as a basis for political maneuvers. It (the government) set up a Provincial Park - named the Polar Bear Provincial Park which takes in the village at Winisk. These boundaries were later extended to enlarge the Polar Bear Provincial Park, without consulting the people of the Winisk Band. Recently, uranium has been discovered in this Provincial Park, and other mineral explorations have been taking place. If further explorations or development take place in this area, what guarantees do the people have that the protections of the environment and their way of life will be maintained? c) Detour Lake Road affected several groups in a way that was not considered beneficial. Native people, non-native and wilderness outfitters were not given serious consideration in this matter. The various alternative methods which were to have been supported by the proponent (M.T.C.) in their submission failed to take these facts into account. The failure of the (M.T.C.) to identify and evaluate the alternative modes of carrying out the undertaking through a comprehensive evaluation of the social, culture, economic and environmental consequences was neglected. This failure should have been noted by the Minister in accordance with the Environmental Assessment Act Section 10(1). The Ontario Mining Association is heavily involved in employment through development. Although undertaking by the Ontario Mining Association must also come under the process of Environmental Assessment, they petition against undue delay against exploration and development in Northern Ontario during the proceeding of the commission.

The Ontario Mining Association would like to see reasonable adjustments made to permit the development of a productive mine as well as the potential capacity for hydro-electricity elicited from this area. Plus they have strong recommendations from this Association for the use of nuclear energy. If the Minister of the Environment can be easily influenced in any of these directions then any hearing will seem to be held only in a token fashion. The development will go on to override and destroy all that which comes under the protection of the Act. The example of Detour Lake seems to have followed this route.

From the examples just given it is justifiable to assume that somehow the full impact of development upon the cultural way of life was overlooked. Besides this, the people of the areas were only given time to react to a situation far beyond and out of their control.

If implementation of the Aboriginal peoples decision making process was incorporated into the processes of the Environmental Assessment Act, then a more constructive approach to the issue of development would come about. It has been proven over time that Native Peoples Decision Making Process is a viable entity of their culture. Irregardless of what was needed to be decided upon, member of the household unit or community were given a chance to voice their opinions. In this manner, peoples are socialized into the process, each being given a voice that would be heard with equal importance. This forms an integral part of their life.

The major differences between the way decisions are arrived at through a process based on Bristish Common Law. Whereas, the Native traditional ways are based on all things being equal - animals, birds, insects, fish, trees, the earth - all manner of living things existing as one organism. The trust and the balance had to be kept for each others survival. In the way of representation, the members of the Environmental Assessment Act are full salaried civil servants are the representative decision makers who have the ability to work within specific time frames (and) to make the decisions necessary for governmental procedures. In regards to the Native

way, representation is generally in the form of elected representatives. The elected representatives being answerable to their people. The decisions stated by the representatives was only done so after the people were consulted and allowed time to make their wishes known. The representative leader never took it upon himself to decide for the people without first consulting them. The eventual arrival of a decision took time. Time was not seen as a hinderance or something to become a slave to. It's purpose serves to allow for the justifications of rational decisions which would effect the people for time immemorial. Finally, the manner in which submissions are made. to comply with the format of the Environment Assessment Act, reflects the major differences. The differences take the form of time - this is generally short; language - usually English; a written format is to communicate and record ideas for fear of being forgotten. On the other hand, Native peoples used time for their advantages, as each event and actions has its place to be realized. Language North of the 50° is mainly Cree with Ojibwa; talks and debates were presented in an oral fashion, knowing that the hearts of true men would not be influenced to change what was decided upon.

In its entirety, the Environmental Assessment Act is a manifestation of the decision-making process, which has involved over centuries of Anglo European culture. So, it is an effective **tool** for decision making among the Native People of James Bay Area differs greatly, and therefore their needs are not met within the confines of the Environment Assessment Act.

In July 1977, the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment was established. The government of Ontario created and assigned this Commission four major tasks.

- i) to examine the impact of large scale economic development projects on the people and resources near and north of the 50 Parallel.
- ii) to determine the best procedures to follow in making decisions about projects of this kind in the future.
- iii) to assess the potential of alternative strategies for the Northern environment which could be implemented in a practical and desirable

way.

iv) to make recommendations to the government of Ontario to assist it in evaluating existing environmental legislation.

Before the formalization of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, various interest groups working in conjunction with Grand Treaty Number 9, were lobbying the government to pay particular attention to the rights and cultural issues pertaining to those that would be affected by development. With the inception of the Commission, each group stepped forward to have their concerns heard, even though the similarities cut across language distance and cultural barriers. For example, the Metis and Non-Status Indian people are petitioning the government to notice their concerns which are similar to those of Status Indian people of the area. These people have been carrying on with their research in various communities during this time. The concerns voiced by the people initially were the same as now, only this time the concerns are more definite and resounding in a stronger voice of unity.

Winisk Band

In Winisk, the feeling is that Native peoples involvement is necessary in the early stages of any project that will take place in the North. It is strongly recommended that there be representatives for the North on the Board of the Environmental Assessment Act.

Due to past experiences with the Government regulations and policies the leaders didn't really understand the intentions of the government people. In order to avoid this situation in the future, students should be educated about government procedures. In this way members of the community will be prepared, and in turn, these students can help their people become aware of what will envolve. These people will be able to talk to their people and also talk for their people, after consulting with them, to government officials.

Attawapiskat Band

Due to the fact that any major or minor undertaking in the North will have a tremendous effect on the people of the North, it is strongly recommended that cultural differences be taken into account when proposing projects. There should be direct input into these projects from the people of the North.

The decision-making period should be extended in order to assess the project, which will inevitable change the lives of the people.

Any notices regarding projects or policy change shoud be understandable and be in the language of the people--in this case Cree. Then the message has more meaning. The people will better understand what is about to take place or what is taking place.

If the proposed undertaking evolves, Native people should be provided with the opportunitiy to acquire job training skills, plus positions of managerial abilities.

The Attawapiskat Band is now working on a submission paper pertaining to these topics. The prepared report will be submitted to R.C.N.E. (This may now be with held by Grand Council Treaty #9, recent position to withdraw further participation in the R.C.N.E.

Kashechewan Band

The Kashechewan people are in favour of Native participation in the procedures regarding development in the North as well as protection for the environment.

The fact of cultural difference was heavily stressed. They want to see the continue of the their own way of life maintained. They realize that those people who draft up projects live in a different manner, and that they should realize that the people of the North have different needs.

There should be Native representation on the Board to maintain close ties with the northern communities. In this way the Band could

be made aware of the intentions of industrial development, and be given more time to participate in the process, rather than react to the situation in a short amount of time.

All notices regarding any form of development or exploration should be sent out to the communities in the Cree language.

A form of special training or on the job training should be made or available to the Native people seeking employment with any company or institution that sets up operations North of the 50° .

The Kashechwan Band does not want development on their river. If so, they want compensation for time immemorial.

The Attawapiskat Band, as well as, the Kashechewan Band indicated the need for a full-time translator on staff. This is to cover the vast amounts of English based material from various government departments, which make little sense to the people unless it is written in their own language, and in a fashion that is intelligible.

Elders (Residing in Moosonee-formerly from communities along the James Bay and the Hudson's Bay)

The old people feel that there should be more talks between them and the young people. In this way the link is maintained.

The leaders who are now, and in the future representing the people should remember who they are there for. These leaders must be honest with themselves and with the people.

The elders are also in favour of full Native participation in activities that are to take place in the North.

Bill Morrison (Director of Moosonee Friendship Centre)

It was recommended that government information be sent to all those groups, North 50 which have a vested interest in community development. Various other interest groups in the area should also be given notification of new programs and program changes that will effect their communities. Input from these communities should be sought, so that the pro-

grams will be available to the people in that specific area.

Sterling Firlotte (Reserves and Trusts Officer, D.I.A., James Bay Region)

This man would like to see the settlement of Aboriginal Land Claims before the onset of any development be initiated the Northern areas.

Bill Hutchison (Member of the Moosonee Development Board, Employee of the Ministry of Natural Resources)

Mr. Hutchison was very receptive to the idea of a representative body being established. In this way information would be available to the people North of the 50°.

Agreement was also expressed for the announcements to be issued in Cree, sent to all Band offices and announced in Cree over the various local area radio stations.

Mr. Hutchison also stressed the facts that particularly the Native communities be given more time to decide upon proposals and to contribute to any form of undertaking, which would no doubt have some effect on their cultural way of life. The Native way of life has to be given serious consideration before an undertaking is allowed to go through.

ONTARIO METIS NON-STATUS INDIAN ASSOCIATION - ZONE III PRESIDENT SEMINAR

Timmins, Ontario December 4, 1982

Responses from the various Zone III Directors and Presidents of Ontario Metis Non-Status Indian Association were obtained, with the Directors and Presidents giving full support to the findings of this report.

The Directors and Presidents were in agreement with the recommendations, stating the need for participation of Aboriginal Peoples in the decision-making processes, with regards to development and access North of the 50th. They also stressed the need for cultural differences and lifeways to be given full consideration when policy implementation is being conducted.

From the reports of the various communities it can be noticed that there is a definite need for a change in the way decisions regarding North 50° are made. The population of this area is comprised mainly of Status Indians,

Metis and Non-Status peoples. The categorization of these peoples comes from the various legislation drawn up by the government. The social, political, religious and economic lifestyles of these people are similar. Their ties to the land are similar. A portion of their lifeways cannot be set aside as a separate entity. The wholeness of their lifeways are so entwined that one portion cannot survive without the other. A divorce action of one part to make the rest more effective is impossible. Just as in earlier times the method of selecting a leader, who would accompany each other on the traplines, what and where to hunt was decided upon through methods still in operation today.

Local decision-making can be made more effectively within the parameters of the Environmental Assessment Act., by amending it to take into consideration that manner of arriving at decisions among the local residents. This can be accomplished within the Environmental Assessment Act as it now stands.

It is recommended to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment by the Moosonee Metis and Non-Status Indian Association that the following be given full consideration upon review of their findings.

- i) the issue of Native Rights and Aboriginal Title to the land be settled before any type of development is undertaken in the North.
- ii) the involvement of Native people in the decision-making process be involve in a wholistic way--not in a piece meal fashion. Trapping, hunting, fishing, land utilization are all parts of a co-ordinated whole which will be affected by resource development and access.
- iii) the time allotments through which responses to an undertaking can be effectively completed, should be extended. In this way the people of the area can prepare their own positions, obtain technical and legal expertise to protect what they consider to be theirs.
- iv) all projects, whether government undertakings or privately sponsored undergo an Environmental Assessment.
- v) all parties potentially affected by development be made aware, by the Minister of any form of proposal for an undertaking.
- vi) notice of the undertaking to be sent to the Band Offices presented in an understandable fashion, and other interests groups in the Cree Language, or the language of the community. This should be

done out of respect for the peoples rights, and not whether or not they requested it of the Minister.

- viii) job training for Native people other than wage labour be initiated. Other forms of organization should be taken into account which would accommodate the traditional lifeways of the people to be employed, as well as the basic economic pursuits.
- ix) announcements of undertaking and hearing should be announced over the local radio station in the language of the people
- x) students should be taught about governmental procedures so that they in turn can help their people understand what is going on in the political arenas.
- xii) there should be strengthening of the traditional renewable resources based economy of Native communities, before the promotion of large scale development. This would ease the burden placed upon the people in the way of adjustment and decrease the amount of social problems that are usually encountered when rapid social change takes place.
- xiv) a Teedying body should be set up or the continuation of the R.C.N.E. be left to buffer the going-on between the government and the people of the North. This Teedying body should be comprised of at least half representation from people North of the 50°.
- xv) the various Communities or Bands should be able to define the land based required for their continuation of a viable lifestyle thereby maintaining a relatively stable economic base for their people.

Conclusion:

We sincerely hope that the Commission sees the justification for Aboriginal Peoples cultural lifestyles, particularly their decision-making process, as a viable entity, therefore requiring special accommodation under the Environmental Assessment Act.

Mother Earth

Respecting Mother Earth
Is taking only one's needs
Not to destroy Nature
or plough through it's beauty
To say Thanks
for the provisions
it provides
Not to destroy
Every tree in one's Patch
but to respect living things
Mother Earth provides
Loving being kind to provisions
The Creator has given us
It's beauty is also in one's self

-Peter Wynne - Peacock Moosonee, Ontario

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Ininew Friendship Center

Rec'd Dec. 22/82

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December 21, 1982

The Royal Commission on
the Northern Environment
261 Third Avenue
TIMMINS, Ontario
P4N 1E2

Attention: Ed Fhalgren

Dear Sir:

The Ininew Friendship Centre welcomes the opportunity to comment on development in Ontario, North of '50' parallel, and offer the following suggestions:

We recommend to this Commission that any development on public lands and water bodies in Ontario, North of '50' undertaken by private enterprise or government agencies, be they commercial or recreational be subject to the utmost scrutiny through public gatherings, and input, verbal as well as written.

These developments should be judged on their individual merits and only allowed to carry on if they benefit all persons concerned, present and future.

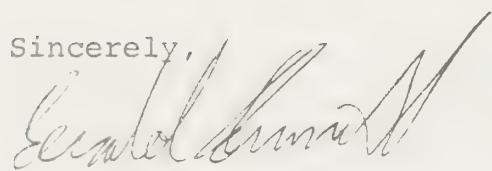
We also conclude that the Ministry of Natural Resources proposed 'District Land Use Plans' not be adopted until all public hearings to be conducted by this Royal Commission are finalized. The input gathered at these hearings must be part of that decision making process, because the population in the Northernmost regions are comprised largely of Native people and survival to some is dependant on natural resources, the wildlife population must not deplete.

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Only through long range proper management of these lands and the involvement of Native peoples in decision making can we achieve an end of mutual benefit, I remain,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Gerald Courville".

Gerald Courville
Vice President of
Ininew Friendship Centre
Board of Directors

GC/l1c
C.C. Ruth Burkholder



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TELEPHONE 272-4361

THE CORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF COCHRANE

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COCHRANE, ONTARIO N0L 1C0

December 17, 1982

Royal Commission on the
Northern Environment
261 Third Avenue
Timmins, Ontario
P4N 1E2

RE: Development above the 50° parallel

Gentlemen:

This is just a short resumé concerning the development above the 50° parallel.

A good example is the mining community which has been designated as the "Detour Lake Project."

Discovery of the precious mineral, gold, took place a few years ago and already the area has potential for substantial development.

The road to the site will be ready during the latter part of 1983 and we understand Detour Lake Mine will go into production about the middle of 1983.

Initially, we understand, that the work force will be flown in and out and will work a 7-day work-week with 7-days off. However, eventually as the need arises, to keep cost of the operation within reason, the personnel will, no doubt, travel by bus to and from the site.

As the development expands and grows, we assume it will follow that the work force will grow. It will reach a point where a decision will have to be made whether to establish a town-site at Detour Lake or continue to move the staff in and out.

It is our opinion that a town-site should not be established at this location!

The main reason is that the cost of providing all the amenities that make up a Community would be staggering. In many, many instances in the past, people swarm to mining development areas and make-shift accommodation springs up. This develops into long-term accommodation and then the Government must step in to spend tax dollars to bring the Community up to an acceptable standard.

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Communities, in the area of Detour Lake, such as Cochrane, will benefit from this development. It has all the amenities to take care of a large work force such as is contemplated at Detour Lake.

The Municipality has the expertise to develop and expand its facilities to take care of a larger population. The population at present is about 5,000 but could accommodate a population of 7,000 without too much difficulty and without placing the municipality in a difficult financial position.

In 1976, the Town developed a fully serviced subdivision of 34 residential lots known as Chalmers Town Subdivision. The lots were sold to individuals at the price of \$8,870.00. The lots are all sold and built on at present.

In 1981, the Town obtained approval from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing for another residential subdivision of 84 lots known as the deBlois Subdivision. Ten lots have been fully serviced and three were sold. These lots have been priced at \$12,000.00. As the demand arises more lots will be developed. All the engineering work as far as plans and specifications are concerned has been completed.

The Town has another area known as the West Annex Subdivision of 40 lots which can also be developed for residential purposes quite readily.

At the present time there are 83 Senior Citizens Units and 54 family units in the Town of Cochrane administered by the South Cochrane District Housing Authority located at Iroquois Falls, Ontario. These units are subsidized by both the Federal and Provincial Governments for family and senior citizens in the lower income bracket.

The Town has up-dated its Official and Land-use or Zoning By-Law. An Official Plan has also been approved for the Unorganized Townships immediately adjacent to the Town. A zoning order is presently being prepared for this area by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing. The Organized Township of Glackmeyer, North of the Town of Cochrane, has an Official Plan in place.

The Township of Glackmeyer also has a Mobile Home area which is being up-graded.

The Town of Cochrane has completed studies as follows; waterworks, sanitary sewer, storm drainage and has taken action to correct deficiencies where necessary. It has a Housing Statement which is being up-dated. A Master Plan for Recreation will also be completed in 1983.

A Municipal Airport of 3500 feet was constructed in 1968 and this facility has been improved over the years. The runway has been paved, lights were installed, a terminal building was constructed and a non-directional beacon provided. A Master Plan for development of the Airport has also been prepared. The Town has hired an Airport Attendant to take care of this operation and Nor Ontair and Austin Airways operate regular air services from the Airport.

All the above has taken place over the years to accommodate additional population and to up-grade the infrastructure of the Municipality. The Town has endeavoured to keep its mill rates at an acceptable level by carrying out the work on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Cochrane has been designated as a Growth Centre by the Province of Ontario similar to many other organized municipalities in this territorial district. We feel that facilities at Cochrane should be expanded. For example a large public recreational centre housing all various activities should be planned. However, a much increased tax base is needed before this can be contemplated.

We feel that a community such as Cochrane should be encouraged to develop its economy and grow so that it will continue to be an attractive place for people to live and prosper. The construction of another small community in the wilderness in Northern Ontario will mean that the people are isolated and the cost to provide the infrastructure and amenities would be exorbitive.

Yours truly,

THE CORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF COCHRANE


J.R. Fortier
(Mayor)

JRF/db

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Re'd
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THE PEOPLE OF JAMES AND HUDSON BAY IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE
LAND, SEA AND AIR.....

A Submission To the Royal Commission On The Northern
Environment, Mr. J.E.J. Fahlgren, Commissioner.

BY: Mr. Fred P. Wesley,
Chairman,
James Bay Tribal Council.

Mr. Fahlgren, You, as an Ontario Individual, I welcome you to this part of the land which I call Home. As a Commissioner I can not say that it gives me any pleasure to appear before you.

It is with sad feeling that I regard your commission as a tool of a puppeteer playing with the lives of my people. The government of Ontario has given me 12 weeks to answer to its plans of developing my land. This I regard is another insult to the injury that my people has suffered because of this practice. I make this statement in light of the fact that this government has spent years of preparing itself, not to mention the money it spent, in orchestrating a final battle between the white and the indian.

Mr. Commissioner:

White people were given a certain lifestyle, the one that is based on industry, farming and working regular hours, and they are meant by the Great Spirit to live this way. Indian people were also given a way of life - that of hunting, fishing trapping and living off the land. One way of life should not destroy the other. We know that if we do not continue to use the kind of lifestyle we were given it will destroy us gradually. We also know that if we abruptly stop to use the kind of lifestyle that was given to us, it will cause us to suffer immensely. Mr. Commissioner, through you, we are addressing this submission to the Government of Ontario, the Government of Canada, the Developers, the Conservationists, the Sportsmen and the White people. We will attempt to bring out the consequences of any oil and gas exploration and mining that will be faced by our people all in the name of MONEY.

The basis of our deep concern and our submission is that of LIFE.

OUR PAST

The Indian people of James Bay had always depend on the Hudson and James Bay for survival. The cultural makeup of these people their village has always been closely associated with these two bodies of water. They, the Bays and the Indian people were in fact partners in survival. Thus the land which carries the water for the Bays and the Indian people are one. The Bays had always gave them food such as fish, geese, ducks, whale and other edible birds and animals. The bays nad always gave them clothing such as

the seal, artic fox, the feathers of birds.

The bays had always gave them tools and equipment, the walrus tusks for sled runners, the seal hide and fish for sleighs, the whale bones for nails, knives, spoons, hide curing, etc. the artic fox for blankets, coats, pants and mitts. The seal for its oil, for cooking, for light and heat and so on. The bays had always gave them medicine, the salted compact clay for compound presses to aid tooth decays, arthritis, boils, etc. The salt water for deep cuts and scrapes, for sore throats, diarrhea, etc.

The bays had always gave them their identity through art, their highway, etc.

The Indian people were the original conservationists, they took only what they can use, limited amount of fish for food. They never took the young of waterfowl. When they did take eggs they took only up to 10% of the nest so not to disturb the family. They never took the yearling or young moose or bear. Whey they took wood from the forests, only non-valuable wood was taken. They never polluted the waters that feed the bays, in fact they never had garbage, taking wildlife for sport was a grave crime. Development was never heard of. They were developed, they were atonomous.

The Indian people had their own education system and cirriculum. The young were taught by their parents, their elders and they learned from the land.

In comparison to the european, an eight year old european was doing a Grade 3 level, while an Indian student of eight was doing a Grade 12 level. The world of science as we now call it was taught as a way of life. History was the beginning of education.

Culture was the core of education. Mankind was the outer-boundaries of education. Graduation was never a piece of paper but a gift of knowledge to survive.

The Present

In the eyes of the White man things have improved immensely, there is minimum employment, there are houses, there are stores to buy food and equipment, there is welfare money to buy these things with, there is education to teach our young, there are health services for our sick, there are old age homes to keep our old. There are laws and regulations to use for conservation. There is land set aside for the Indian to live, there is land set aside just to look at. There is a peace treaty in existence to govern our lives. There are modern equipment to use for trapping, hunting and fishing. In the eyes of the Indian, things have deteriorated grossly. The education system and curriculum is being used as learning to live in a city, a modern town, a luxurious way of life. Our children are taught foreign education which they find hard to accept. Moreover, the education system is being used as a tool for cultural genocide practices. The houses are way below standard, they deteriorate much faster due to the harsh climate. They are a haven for disease causing bacteria, yet they are luxury to the Indian people because of consequences they can not control. There are store bought food probably sold to the Indian, way after expiry date. They cause illness due to a change of diet. There is the welfare money that is so attractive, even the Indian, being human, would much rather take the easy life.

The health services have failed to deliver. We no longer have mid-wives of our own. There are more infections to the infants because of incompetent people who do not really have committments to their patients. The Indian is given oil to use so they do not need to use wood so there is loss of harmoney, with nature. We are given nets to catch not only the fish we want but non-consumable fish are caught, so is this conservation. We are expected to place our old in homes away from the family, so we lose a portion of our culture through the teaching of these elders. Modern equipment was provided so that the Indian no longer reach their traditional trapline. All of what we mention here has crept up to the Indian people unawarely. It has caused a catastropic chaos with the lives of the Indian people. We are not one to sit at home idly. We are of a productive nature and the consequence are social unreat, family crisis and a community explosion of crime. All this was caused by the Indian people not given a chance to change, not being prepared to plan a parallel way of life. All this was caused by the white man not accepting the Indian way of living. All this was caused by the wite man not accepting our standard of education. All this was caused by the elusive termination policy of the government.

The Future

We are not so niave as to thing we will stop all developments. The Development Giants through their political ties outnumber the native people of this country. Basicly, we do not feel that the native people want to stop development buty they want a fair treatment, they want equal input into any development of the land. We will be ready to sit down with any developer as equal

business partners. You probably will ask right away how can we sit down as equal business partners if we do not have any monetary equity. We will try to illustrate this as follows. In any business venture, all partners will need to place on the table equal share of what the venture will cost. The price that we place on our land, the lives of our people, the culture of our heritage will more than equal any businessman share.

The Impact of Oil and Gas Exploration

Considering our opening statement in conjunction with our preluded statement in the future, one could easily see who would be the consequence of a big boom on oil and gas, mines would do to the native people without proper planning, without proper planning so that they would merge safely and with minimum social disruption with the developments.

Our Food

Our food would be destroyed if an oil accident does happen. The tides affect all the feeding grounds of the waterfowls right to the treeline. Our rivers are affected by the tides up to ten miles inland. Any chances of waterfowls and fish surviving could be virtually nil. When our fish are destroyed, you destroy the whole feeding cycle, the bear, the fox, the seal, the whale, the mink. When our shoreline is destroyed you destroy the geese, the ducks, the hawks and all existing wildlife and very possibly the man.

Our Economics

Our economics, of what little we have at present and what we could

have in the future will be destroyed. The traplines which we use are an economic subsistence which will dwindle down to nothing due to loss of animals.

The goose camps and fish camps which we offer to the tourist will be closed, offering no income to the Indian if our birds and fish are destroyed. In fact, any chance of fostering any tourism venture in the bay will be non-existent. All this will be done in the name of money, the thinking of the white man has no relevance of the existence of the Indian. The mining operation can only be described as an army of ants destroying everything in their wrath, leaving only suffering, destruction and death. These are very strong words to hear but they are the reality in the realm of the developers' minds.

We do not intend to shock the world of our foresight but at the same time we do not intend to be the prize of a future archeologist.

The reality of today's governments' trends and the white society is a reflection of old belief by the European which basically states that Indian people are not considered as any relevant to the development of the north. If the government's policy had had been to respect the rights of the Indian people, recognized historically and made reasonable redress for the extinguishment of such rights after consultation, and the Indian people treated as equals with the right to exert self-initiatives and freedom of choice as individuals and communities to the extent of other Canadians, there would not be the problems experienced today. Moreover the cost of such concessions would have been less than the amount of money necessarily spent, and which continue to be

spent, throught the various government departments for welfare services using the word welfare in the broadest sense in respect to the Indian people. Of course, this is not in any way to suggest that the Indian people receive nearly enough by way of services, only to stae forcefully that much of the inadequate expenditures for bootstrap operations are only necessary because of the treatment suffered historically by the Indian people.

The Indian - Revelant or Non-Revelant

The government when issuing permits for exploration had never consulted with the Indian people. There has never been any consideration by the government as to the possible lands and waters rights or need of the Indian people within and surrounding area to be explored. Non-consultation has always been the practice of the government, notwithstanding the fact that the Indian people being born in the very ground which they occupy are the most knowledgable people about the environment of the north and have lived as successful environmentalists and conservationists for a very long, long time.

The impact of a boom town will be devastation to the Indian people being that no consultation had never been done with the Indian people in the present process of colonization. There should be concern in the part of all Canadians as to the civilization of the Indian people which may suffer greatly and indeed, perhaps vanish due to the impact of development of the north.

The culture of the Indian, being autochthons, is related to the land base and has been from time immemorial. The Indians therefore have the greatest stake of all Canadians in the protection of the environment of the north and the maintenance of the land base.

The Oil and Gas Mine - The Menances

Since the James and Hudson Bay has moving and fast ice 8 months of the year, it would take weeks perhaps months to repair a blow out, no matter the extent of assurance given to us by the mining companies.

In 1969, a drill rig owned by Aqitanine broke loose and subsequently located to be plugged in 1974, five years later. Had there been oil in this hole one could only imagine the devastation it would have done to the wildlife in both bays. In 1979, a rig owned by Petroles Mexicanos blew out on the shores of Mexico, within one week 8 million gallons of oil had flowed out from the well. Within one month 70 million gallons of oil had been lost.

With one week the oil slick measured 108 miles long by 48 miles wide.

The impact of this spill had on the fish was deadly, average income for fisherman dropped from \$20,000 per year to \$4,000 a year. The fish population also drop by 70% due to adult fish migrating to other waters to escape the oil. This spill also caused extensive damage to the intertidal organisms along the shores which many birds fed on.

Tourism in this area had also decreased by 90% which if it happened in James Bay would deny what little income the people have from this trade.

These, Mr. Commissioner, are only a few examples what will happen in case of a blow-out.

To say that we are not interested in development at all is incorrect. What is required before any large scale development, is a just, an

equitable aboriginal rights settlement, and that any benefits accrued from development through non-renewable resources in the North go towards the betterment of the Northern Indian life styles.

Mr. Commissioner, like all the Indians in the North we can not approve any development in our land until there is some evidence of acknowledgement and action taken by the federal government regarding the following statements.

There is a need to formulate a long term plan for the development of non-renewable resources in James Bay area.

There is a requirement for a Base Authority, to control and regulate development to adequately serve the interests of the people of James Bay area.

There is a requirement of a plan for the sharing of Royalties.

There is the requirement for policies and programs that will ensure the availability of energy supplies to meet the present and future needs in James Bay.

There is a requirement for movement in the area of Aboriginal Rights and Claims.

Basically, Mr. Commissioner, what we are saying is that, you must recognize the need for equal participation by the Indian people in the decision-making process as to the extinguishment of legal rights and moral claims.

You must recognize the need for equal participation by the Indian people in the decision-making process as to ways and means of conserving and best utilizing the wildlife resources of the North.

You must recognize the need for equal participation by the Indian people in the decision-making process as to the needs for environment and ecological protection and the amelioration of the harmful effects of development and exploration.

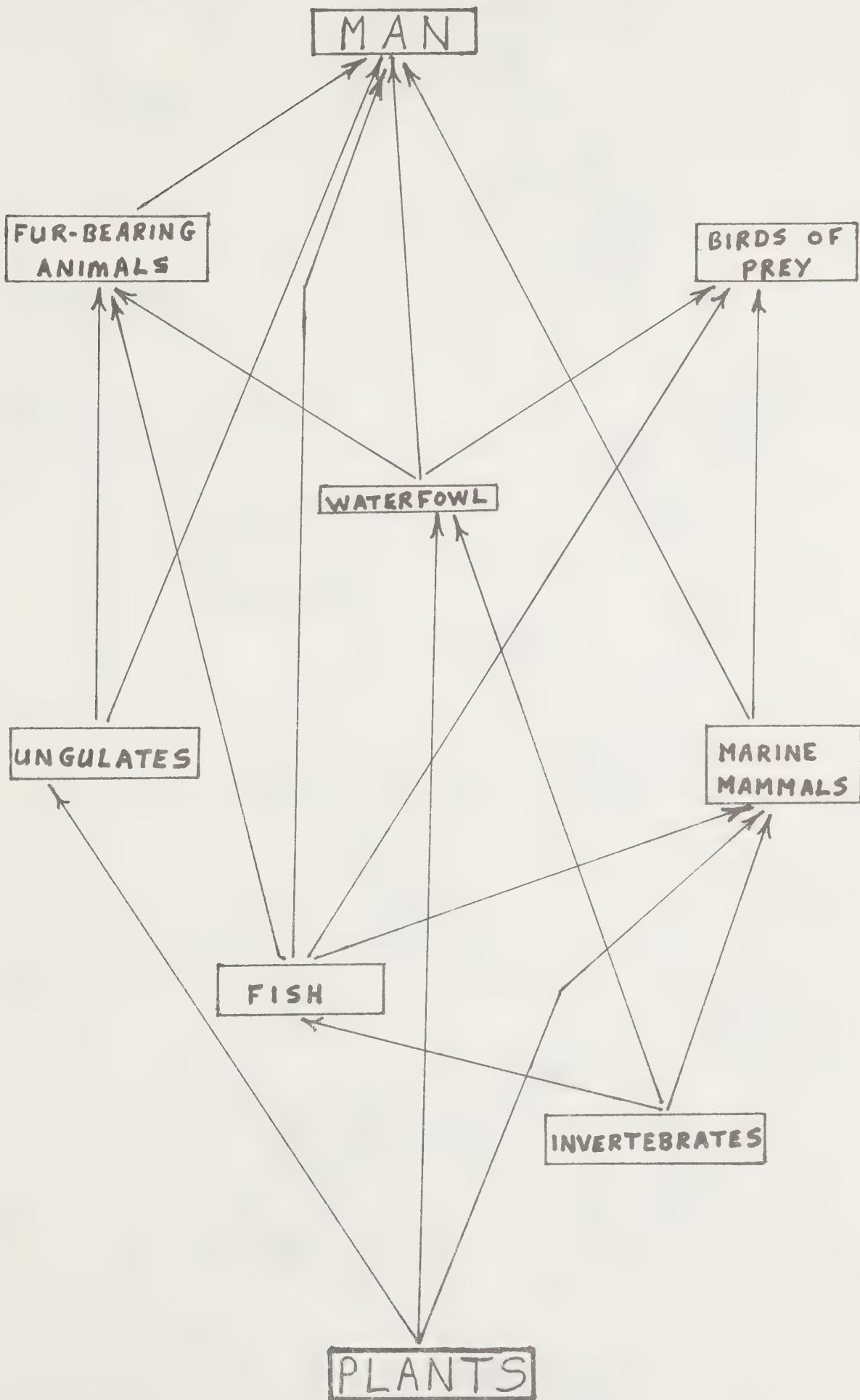
You must recognize the need for equal participation by the Indian people in the decision-making process as to employment opportunities and practices in the development of the north.

You must recognize the need for full participation by the Indian people in respect to the amelioratory of effects of acculturation through impact by white society coincidental with development and exploration, and the corresponding need for participation by the Indian people in the decision-making process as to policies preserving the cultural identity of the Indian.

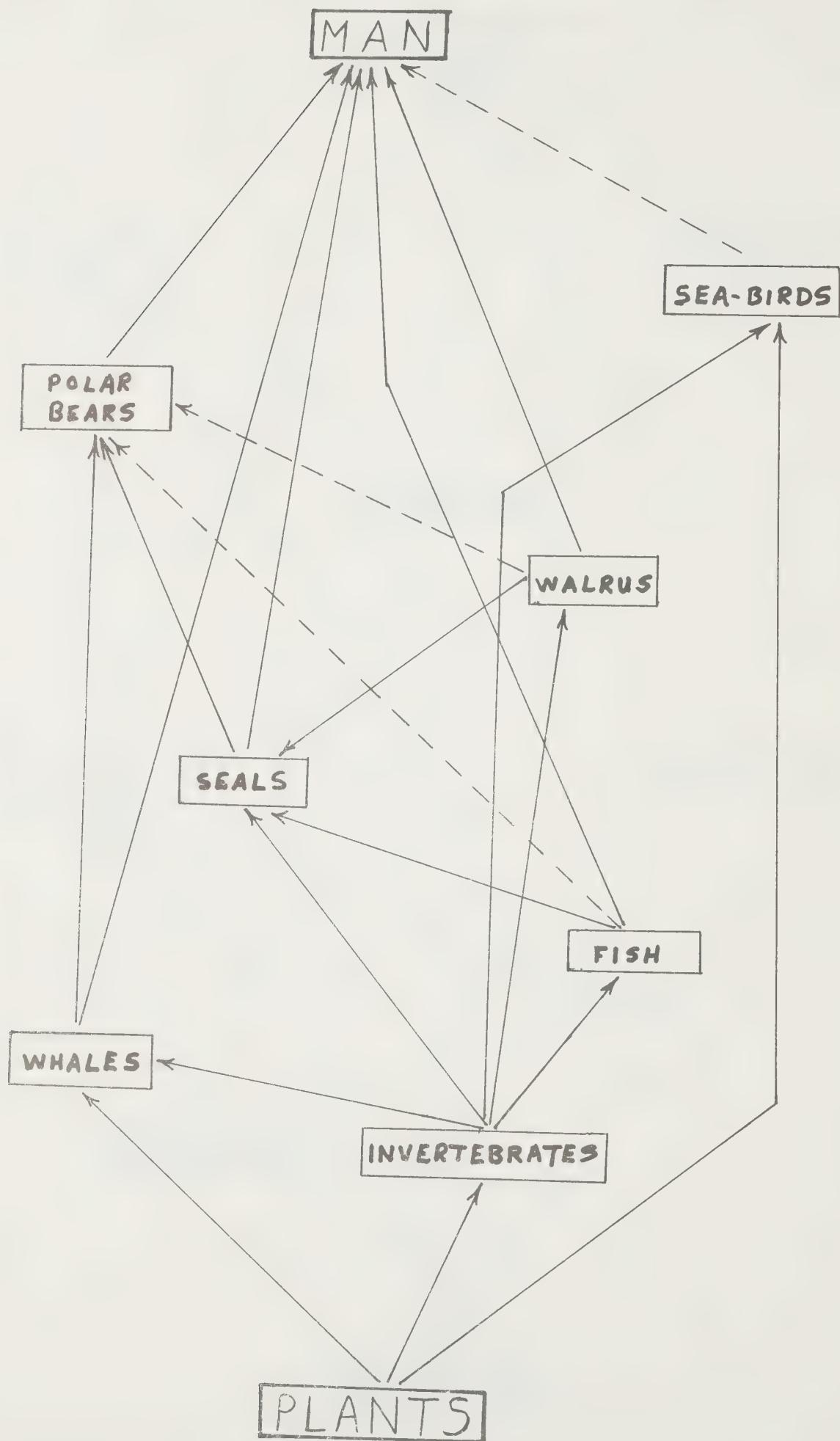
Mr. Commissioner, we have heard the government, many times say to the Indian people while being confronted with a profound problem, "Just tell us what you want".

We want the government to deploy resources to enable the people of James Bay to begin and be an equal part of a Mediation between the federal and provincial government in establishing methods and structures of full and equal involvement of the native people in the developing of the North such as the James and Hudson Gas and Oil Explorations.

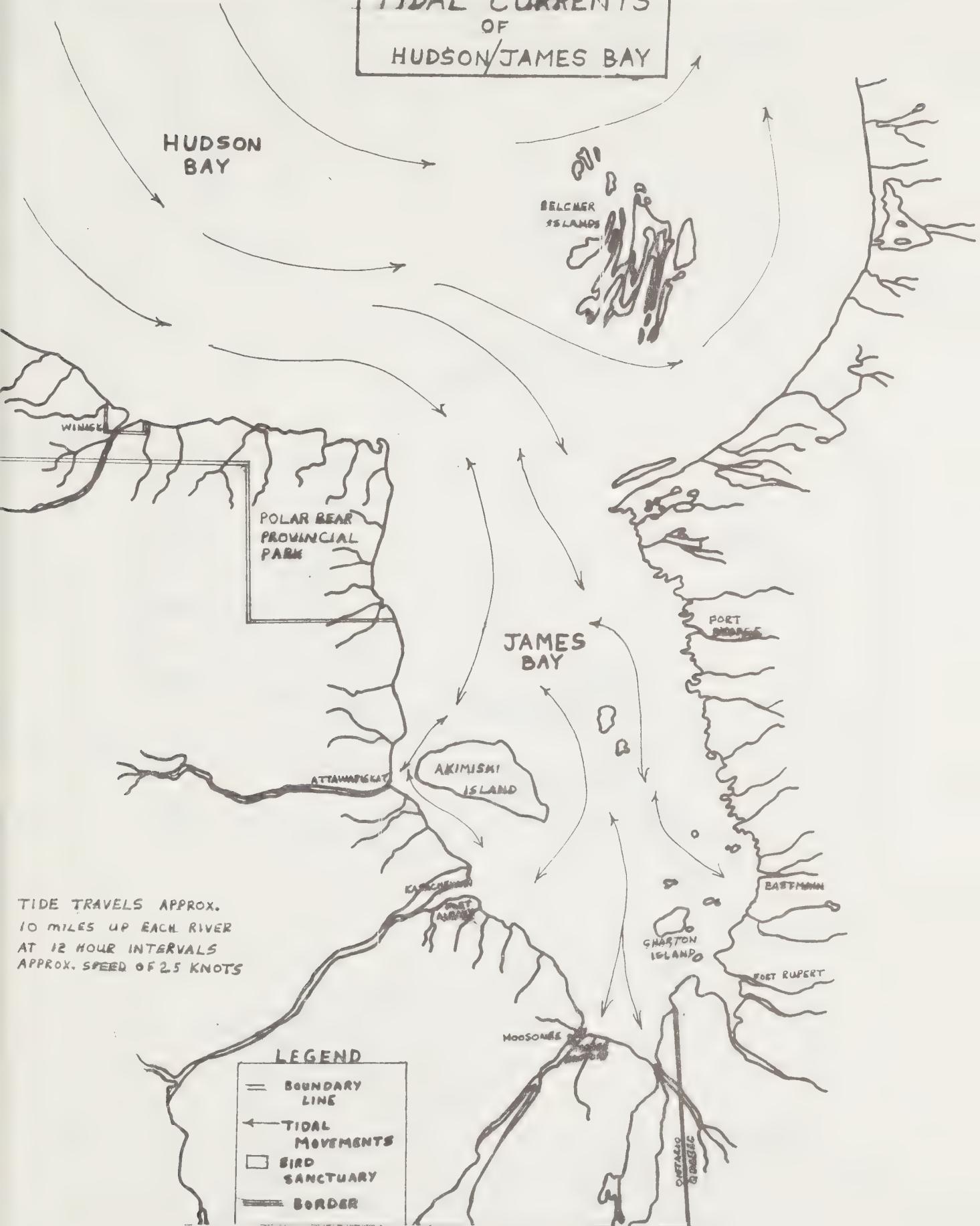
GENERALIZED FOOD CHAIN
OF JAMES BAY



GENERALIZED FOOD CHAIN
OF HUDSON BAY



TIDAL CURRENTS OF HUDSON/JAMES BAY



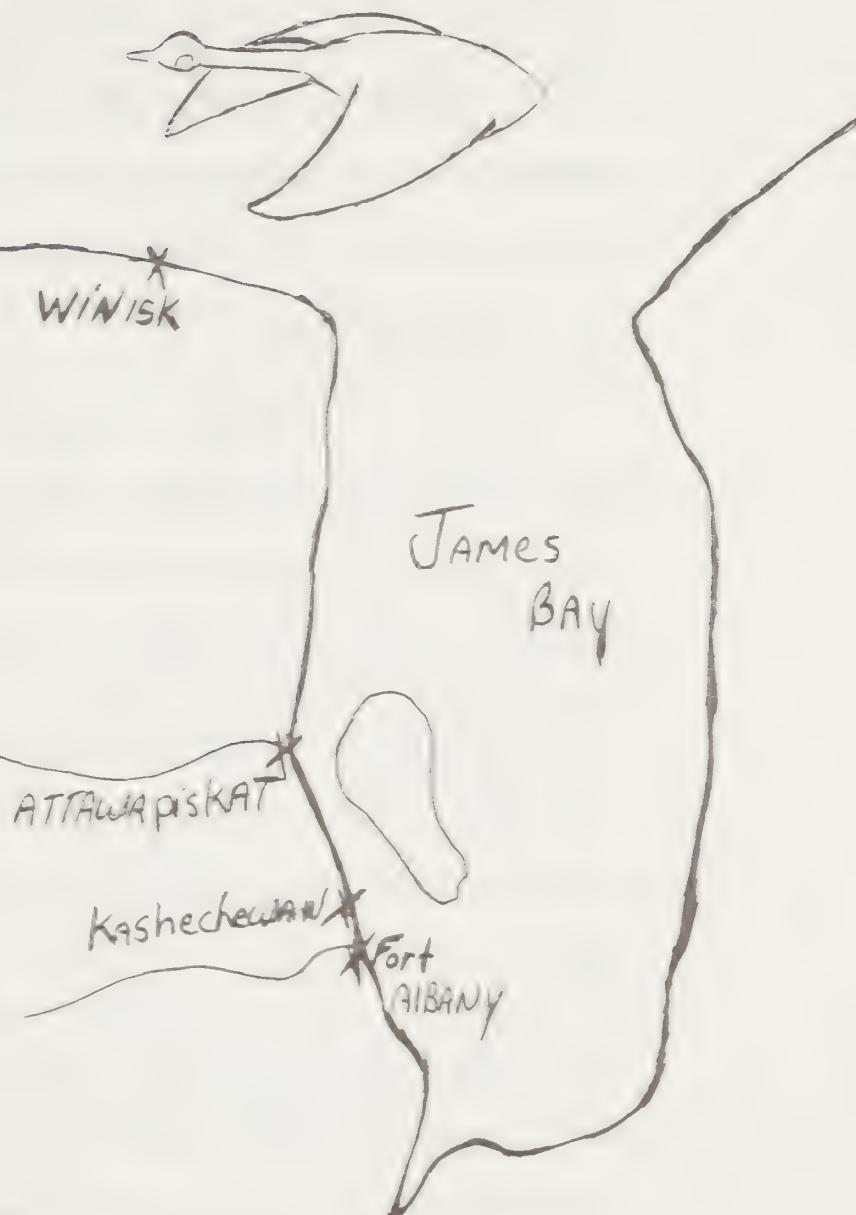
Hudson Bay

mmitee - EDMUND EDWARDS

- DANIEL EDWARDS
- James Wesley
- Paul Wesley
- ALBERT MATINAS
- George KATAQUAPIT
- Joseph CARPENTER

o-ordinator - John EDWARDS

riter - J.B. NAKOGE



Mr. Commissioner, Ladies & Gentlemen involved with the Commission further Ladies & Gentlemen of the assembly.

First of all, I wish to thank the people who gave their time to put put this submission together without their effort, it would have been impossible, considering the short time we were given, namely six weeks.

My thanks to the committee, comprising of Kashechewan, Fort Albany, and Attawapiskat.

My presentation today will involve around what development does to places that are not accustomed to the rapid change of lifestyle, by that I mean the bad and sometimes disastrous social impact, the disorientation of people and finally the outcome it leaves on society after its completion.

We do realize, Mr. Commissioner, that developments have their positive sides and let's not kid ourselves the positive sides of achievement goes to people other than the residents of that given area, as we have so many times heard or even seen.

Our presentation to you, Mr. Commissioner, has the backing of 3,000 people who have residences along this coast. As you realize, our James Bay Coast have been free of major developments and the land of which we harvest " our source of living have not been interrupted, which we wish to remain that way.", as I will outline in this submission.

You see, Mr. Commissioner, with the amount of people lives at stake with development, we have no alternative but to safeguard our future generations.

PREAMBLE

Long before the coming of the whiteman, we the Indian people had already known the Great Spirit, whom we called the Great Manitou. The Great Manitou was present in our daily livelihood, he was with the fish, wild game and he was also present in the wind. Therefore, we the Indian people treated game with respect, taking only what's needed and sharing with our fellow man. We, the Indian people also shared our prospects with Mother Nature for like a child she cared for us, providing fish from her rivers, providing game from her forests and at the same time sheltering us from elements of rain and wind.

On April 17, 1982 when Her Majesty, the Queen signed the constitution or the Canada Act, she had words of praise. To quote, "the Rights of the Aboriginal people are recognized with full opportunity for further definition. There is a historic relationship between the Crown and Canada's aboriginal people. I am therefore particularly pleased that this innate respect for fellow Canadians is also reflected in the willingness of the National (Federal) and Provincial governments to consult with the representatives of Native peoples and to work out solutions to long standing problems of rights and opportunities" unquote. The National Government represented through the Prime Minister had this to say, quote " The Constitution offers a way to meet the legitimate demands of our Native peoples" unquote. In this presentation of the Royal Commission of Northern Environment, we wish very strongly to bring to your Commission's attention the lack of involvement in development and decision making affecting our traditional lifestyle.

Every society has it's own peculiar problems. These problems pose both a challenge and an opportunity. If the Bands fail to respond effectively to the challenge, the problems will persist and often grow more serious. If the Bands deal effectively with the problems, the quality of life in that society rises to a higher level. The both levels of Governments are no exception to this rule. Our peculiar problems pose a problem of poverty, the problems poses a rapid urbanization and a problem in the role of Indains in Society. It is with this thought in mind that we introduce to you the facts, ideas, so that the Commission can develop recommendations to better analyze, compare and evaluate with that of other submissions.

Years ago our people were self-reliant. We made our living by trapping and from whatever nature was able to provide for us. Our life was hard. It was not an easy life, we had to use our minds continually to try and find means and way by which to survive. But we lived like men.

Then the Government came and offered welfare to our people. They also tried to give a little money to which we were to start something by which to make a new type of livelihood. When they offered us welfare, it was as if they had stripped us out of our pride as survivors of our hard working ancestors. It seems as if the government had laid a trap for us for they knew that once we accepted the "treats" they would have us where they wanted us.

For years they provided welfare. During these years our mids went to sleep, for we did not have to use them in order to survive. The years confused our minds. Then all of a sudden the government decided to impose regulations of distribution, therefore cutting down on welfare payments and also the economics development assistance that they were

starting to provide. We found ourselves sitting in the middle of nowhere, for both our sources of survival had been taken from us and we had almost forgotten what it was like to make a hard living off the land.

We think this is where the government made its mistake. The government officials are white and they are smart but they too, can make mistakes. The next time the government does something it should think twice and consult the inhabitants, the original people of that given area.

We do not want "hand outs" from the government, we would rather see the government put its money where it would help us most. There are resources in our land. There are some ways by which we could make a living. But we are Indians who are just emerging from the ways of trapping and hunting. We do not know the ways of the whiteman. We do not have the skills to make a living like the whiteman does.

Why does the government not send us men who could teach us the skills we need to survive in your ways? Why does the government ignore our presence? Why doesn't the government not send us money to develop our own resources that we have so that our people can make their living from these reserves. We think this would be better for our people as a whole. We think this would help us regain our manhood which we have lost over the years. This is the only way we can see for our people. But one thing is certain, we will never get anywhere the way the both level of governments are working.

It has been the plight of Indian people today that the way has been a way of darkness, whenever decisions are made to exploit our virgin forests, lakes and rivers, we are the last to know. To us Indians accustomed to the idea of living with nature, the concept of exploitation of nature which is part white urban-industrial culture is wrong headed and unnatural. What to most people appears as "justifiable exploitation of natural resources" appears to us as disasterous and an act of sacrilege for it hampers into our

cultural and traditional values, as we have stated in the preamble of our presentation.

As the Bands of James Bay, we present to you now that the moments of change and events are now ready for change by means of establishing unity through our Tribal Council, develop policies with respect to our land, influence public opinion and make demands clear to our policies with respect to our land, influence public opinion and make demands clear to our political leaders at both levels of governments. This is our country, our home, we will not be treated as foreigners in our own land. In order to better illustrate our plight, we present to you these facts:

1. We are poor.
2. We hold poorly paid jobs.
3. We suffer high unemployment rates.
4. Relatively poorly educated.
5. We are subject to ridicule and prejudice.

In a real sense we live as strangers in the land that was once owned entirely by our ancestors before the coming of other cultures. We are a people who have been robbed of our heritage. Small wonder then that some are apathetic and without hope while many are bitter and cynical about the intentions of the white majority. We, the people of James Bay feel such state of affairs is wrong. It runs contrary to the ideas of justice and equality of treatment to which a democratic Canada is committed to. It is therefore a moral problem as well as a political one and it may be stated as: What is the Canadian Governments going to do in order to provide the Indians with the opportunity to live a free and full life?

POLITICAL VEHICLES

The next part of our presentation will center around the Tribal Council which we utilize as our "sounding boards" in order to gain attention if our recommendations are not adhered to and if development should surge ahead without proper consultation. We do not want to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the province. We want safeguards against the possible disappearances of our Reserves. We do not want government to be in charge of planning of our lands to be destroyed by so called progress. We want to take on the responsibility of decision making in the development of our own resources. Our Indian Leaders and as well as our elders have argued that control should not be in the hands of government districts, it should be in the hands of a body controlled by Indians. It has been continuously rumoured that the Department of Indian Affairs will phase out, this is a welcomed aspect of the new government policy, but from a practical point of view some political interim body will have to be created. The duties and responsibilities of the department will be passed onto other Federal agencies and from past Indian experiences we know that all government agencies have a tendency to "pass the buck" from one another. To meet this prospect the Tribal Council can play the rôle of a human resources authority, coordinating the services offered to the Indians by the many Federal departments. This role would save the Indian many "headaches" and aid him in all his dealings with the Federal Government. At the same time, the Tribal Council would be in a position to help the various government agencies establish priorities in relation to the needs and aspirations of the Indian people in the James Bay area. Because of its political structure, the people of James Bay are assured of continual control over the activities of the Tribal Council. This will enable the different Bands to participate in the democratic process and assures an active role

in the broad workings of government.

However, if development should surge ahead without our prior approval and recommendations we will in turn propose through our Tribal Council for compensation should our lifestyle and tradition be disrupted and threatened. Our proposal will compromise of asking in return the following:

FIRST - Royalties, we will ask that we be compensated for our loss game in return for livestock, poultry and agricultural commodities.

SECOND- Tourism, will be requested for anybody on any given land without interference from MNR. This will entail establishing camps, be they of goose, moose, or fish nature to assist and to bridge the gap of our daily existances.

THIRD - Training, will be asked to better promote the management skills if we are to be of a competitor with your society.

These requests as I have mentioned will be funnelled through the James Bay Tribal Council, who in turn will negotiate with the Federal and Provincial governments with the company of development present.

THE CHURCH

The different denominations of churches should speak out and advise governments that it does not subscribe to imposed social change due to its impact and should ask government and seek reconciliation and honourable negotiation. The Church should also consider diverting some foreign aid programs to assist organizations in their search for solutions to problems of social and economic equality. The Churches involvement would provide a crusade of enlightenment to tell the real story of Indian aspirations that Indians want to participate in the development in a climate of mutual acceptance.

EDUCATION

Almost equally important is the area of education. Here too, both sides must move forward into new concepts. The constitutions of education is largely a cultural phenomenon. Since the introduction of formal education to our people our own original education processes have either been shunted completely pushed aside or even discouraged, where it should have to help develop the human being or to equip for life in a new environment. A new look must be given, to the fundamental purpose of educating the Indian. It is not enough for the government to promise it will change the content of history books more truly to tell the Indian story. Of course, we would like the falsehoods removed and Indians characterized more truthfully in what the youth is taught, but Indians are much more interested in a new approach with completely new ideas. Indian leaders must be given the opportunity to see and study the educational process. Only in this way can we help to develop a new conceptual framework related to education and to solving of our own social and economic problems. We believe that different forms of education are both possible and available. The majority of our people do not have the opportunity to benefit from existing provincial education institutions, especially those at the post-secondary level. Few of our people have sufficient academic background to make proper use of the technological schools, trade schools, colleges and universities. Even if they did there would be a need for some new form of education that could help them develop a living, dynamic culture. For education to mean anything is the process to bridge the gap between where we stand now and the available post-secondary institution must be created. This means some form of temporary but special mass of educational process. Indian initiatives channelled through native organizations must develop to enable our youth to benefit from programs now offered by existing education systems.

These new institutions must be prepared to help our youth develop their sense of identity. Indian organizations must or should operate these schools, for only they qualify for the task of identifying teachers and administrators with the resources to meet the cultural needs of Native People.

The government must understand this because it is in this area that society can form a successful partnership in working together to find ways and means through which educational process will develop with a purpose and some direction.

In closing our presentation, Mr. Commissioner, we wish to stress again that history, tradition, ancestry the past, we claim it to know who we are and where we are from. We use our knowledge of our past to live in the presence and to shape our future.

Thank you.

Rec'd Nov. 19 / 82 HS

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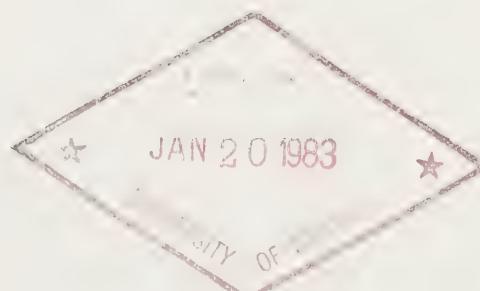
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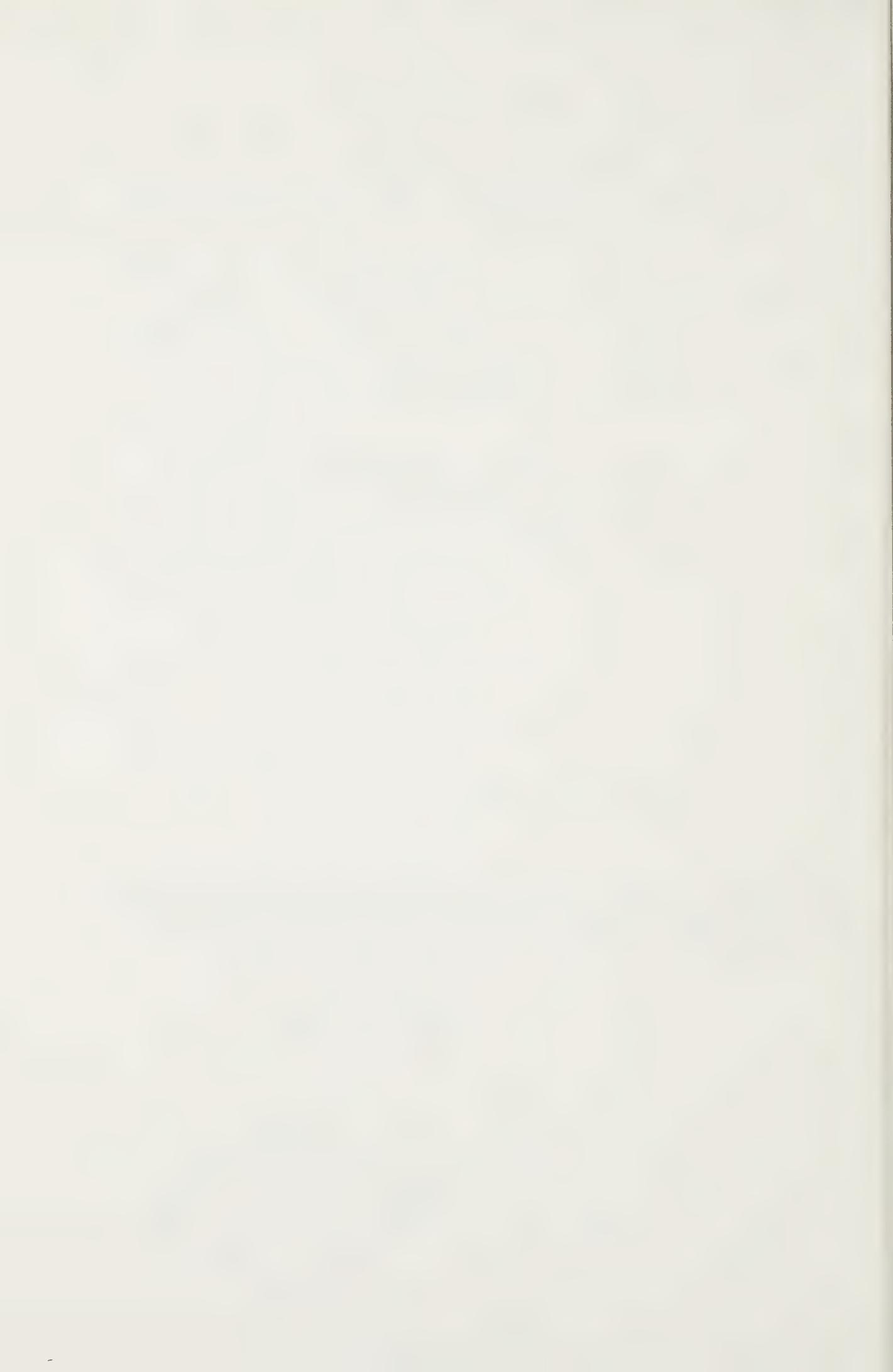
Translated & Typed from Original

I am also requesting that I still be given those things which God has given us. I still want us to have possessions so we still have something. I don't want the white man to destroy this. I have many grandchildren. I also have great grandchildren.

Kenina Meekis

Deer Lake, Ont.





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Translated & Typed from Original

Today, I heard what will be happening, (in terms of policy changes and revisions). Now I am asking you what happened in the past concerning the government. I still want you to give me the life I followed to survive. The Indian people were told that there were animals in the land from which they could live and survive. Also, there are my grand-children who will need the animals to survive. That is what I am asking you.

Paul Meekis

Deer Lake, Ont.

Rec'd Jan 5/83

HS
134

— HS 134 is an update of HS 123 —
Ministry of Energy

Submission to the Royal Commission
on the Northern Environment

MINISTRY OF ENERGY

December 1982



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1.0 Introduction

The Ministry of Energy's submission to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment is intended to outline the Ministry programs and initiatives which are particularly relevant to the North. In addition, information is provided on energy resources, both conventional and nonconventional, in Northern Ontario, and on energy demand in northern communities.

The first part of the submission discusses the energy resource potential of peat, lignite and large scale hydraulic power in Northern Ontario. Current Ministry activities intended to make the development of these resources more attractive are also discussed.

The second part of the submission discusses the role of the Ministry's Remote Power Unit and its activities in demonstrating alternatives for remote power generation and increasing the energy use data base. Current results of demonstration projects and commissioned studies are outlined.

The third part of the submission consists of a discussion of the application of the Environmental Assessment Act to northern energy development. The Ministry's proposed class environmental assessment for remote energy supply projects is also discussed.

In addition, two commissioned studies prepared for the Ministry that are relevant to the Royal Commission's work are attached. They are:

Northern Community Assessment Study (4 Vol.)
Remote Community Data Base (2 Vol.)

2.0 Major Energy Resources in Northern Ontario

2.1 Introduction

The major concentrated energy resources in Northern Ontario consist of peat, lignite and large-scale hydraulic sites. The Ministry, in conjunction with other government agencies, has commissioned studies aimed at increasing knowledge about these resources and making their use more attractive. Development of these resources will be constrained by economic and environmental concerns such as minimizing disruptions caused by mining, flooding and the damming of canoe routes and wild rivers.

2.2 Peat

In Ontario there are about 9.9 million hectares of peat south of the perma-frost line. This contains the energy equivalent to about 26 billion barrels of oil. However, because of its low energy density, it is unclear how much of the resource will be economic to harvest.

The Ministry is conducting the following activities in the peat area:

- 2.2.1 Market Survey: A consultant has been selected to carry out a market survey to determine the demand for peat in Northern Ontario as a substitute fuel for coal, oil, natural gas and possibly wood.
- The results of this survey should be available in Spring 1983, in time to assist entrepreneurs in starting to drain bogs in the summer of 1983 if they wish to proceed with peat mining.
- 2.2.2 Peat Development Strategy: This Ministry, along with the Ministries of Natural Resources and Northern Affairs, is preparing a multi-year development strategy for the peat resources of the Province.
- Harvesting of this resource will have a permanent impact on the northern environment and this question will be addressed in the strategy.
- 2.2.3 Indirect Liquefaction (Gasification): The Ontario Energy Corporation will be calling for proposals to investigate the best technology for the gasification of peat (and wood) to produce methanol. Suitable technology could be in operation by 1986-1990.
- 2.2.4. Environmental/Regulatory Constraints: The Ministry Of Energy in conjunction with other Ministries will be carrying out a review of the regulatory and environmental constraints which could have an effect upon the development of the province's peat resources.

2.3 Lignite

There are approximately 200 million tonnes of lignite in the James Bay lowlands. This contains the energy equivalent to that in approximately 300 million barrels of oil. Because of its low energy density the cost of transportation is high, relative to other fossil fuels. Therefore the lignite would have to be used close to the site or converted to another energy form with a higher energy density and transported to larger markets. Ontario Hydro, in partnership with Onakawana Development Limited, has examined the feasibility of developing a lignite mine and using the lignite to fuel an on-site generating station. The station size studied was for three units of 375 MW each for a total capacity of 1125 MW. In January 1982 Ontario Hydro announced that it would not proceed with the station after economic studies showed that lifetime costs would be \$12 billion (1995\$) compared with \$5.2 billion for a similar size nuclear station and \$3.6 billion for an hydraulic one.

The Ministry is conducting the following activities with regard to lignite:

2.3.1 Market Survey

Onakawana Development Ltd has agreed to carry out a market survey to determine the demand for lignite as a substitute heating fuel to replace coal, oil, natural gas and possibly wood.

The result of this survey should be available by the spring of 1983.

2.3.2 Direct Liquefaction

The Ministry has placed a contract with S.N.C. to carry out a review and assessment of the technologies for the direct liquefaction of Ontario lignites to produce a high energy density synthetic crude oil.

The report should be available in the spring of 1984. It is not anticipated that the technology will be commercially viable until the year 2000.

2.3.3 Indirect Liquefaction (Gasification)

On December 1, 1982, OEC issued a Request for Proposal to 11 consulting firms to assess the best technology for the gasification of lignite to produce methanol.

2.4 Large and Medium Scale Hydraulic Potential

Most of the large scale undeveloped hydraulic power in Northern Ontario is on four major rivers, the Albany, the Winisk, the Attawapiskat and the Severn. Together these rivers have an estimated average annual output of over 2400 MW. The possible future development of these rivers is a key policy issue. Acting on a request from Grand Council Treaty No.9, the Government agreed in 1976 to place a prohibition on studies of the hydraulic developmental potential of these rivers.

The postponement was originally scheduled to be reviewed after the final report of the Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning was received. However, the Royal Commission did not deal directly with the issue. The Ministry would only be prepared to consider lifting the prohibition on studies when a strong rationale for doing so is made.

In terms of medium scale hydroelectric sites, Ontario Hydro is studying a site on the Little Jackfish River, north of Lake Nipigon. This site is expected to have a peak capacity of over 150 MW.

Ontario Hydro will discuss hydraulic development plans in their submission to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment scheduled for early 1983.

2.5 Small Scale Hydroelectric Potential

The Ministry of Energy established the Small Hydraulic Development Program in 1981. The target of this program is 100 MW of new small hydro by 1995. Much of Ontario's most economic small hydro potential with the least environmental impact is at existing dams in Southern Ontario but there are small hydro opportunities in Northern Ontario which will be actively pursued.

2.6 Wood

Studies have indicated that 80 per cent of remote communities in Northern Ontario could generate all their electricity and heat requirements using locally available wood. Industrial operations in remote Northern Ontario are currently not taking advantage of the potential for using uneconomic species and slash to provide electricity and heat for their isolated camps, thus replacing current diesel generation. The electric generation technology is mature and has been used to advantage elsewhere in Ontario for upwards of 80 years.

3.0 Remote Power Unit

3.1.0 Introduction

The Remote Power Unit was formed in 1981 to investigate, develop and demonstrate alternatives to diesel electric generation in remote locations and to reduce oil dependence and stabilize power costs in locations not served by the Ontario Hydro transmission network. The Unit administers the Hydroelectric Demonstrations in Ontario Program and the Wind Power Demonstration Program. The high cost of generating electricity in remote locations is increasing the cost effectiveness of renewable energy technologies relative to conventional ones.

3.1.1 Current Activities Three program development studies that relate to Ontario north of 50° latitude that are complete or underway are outlined below. Collectively these studies will examine energy end-use, renewable energy resource potential, and institutional and technical barriers to renewable energy delivery in remote locations.

Various technology feasibility studies and demonstrations that relate to the study area are also underway; these include:

- Sudbury Wind Diesel Hybrid Demonstration
- Small (10 KW) Wind System Demonstration
- Wood Gasifier/Combustion Engine Demonstration
- Wood Boiler/Steam Engine Demonstration
- Micro Hydro Feasibility Studies for Oba and Muskrat Dam.

3.1.2 Future Directions: To successfully meet its objectives, the unit will pursue the following directions in the short term:

- Complete identification of energy supply and demand in remote locations.
- Complete technology demonstrations to determine energy cost comparison with diesel systems and to develop small scale renewable energy technology for Canadian and export markets.
- Initiate studies to identify conservation measures that will reduce energy consumption in remote communities.

- Liaise with the federal government in the implementation of their newly announced Remote Community Development Program through the Conservation and Renewable Energy Office of Energy, Mines & Resources Canada.
- Coordinate the development of a strategy and approach to improve the energy available to remote locations.

3.2.0 Program Development Projects

3.2.1 Northern Community Assessment Project

The purpose of this study is to undertake the following for ten of Ontario's remote communities:

- 1) obtain energy end-use data
- 2) identify energy supply costs
- 3) identify renewable energy resource potential
- 4) assess the feasibility of the installation of renewable energy technology.
- 5) develop a community decision making process to enable community leaders to select the most appropriate system.

The final report is now available.

Major Findings

The major findings of the report are as follows:

1. Wood is the largest energy source in all seven native communities and in two of the non-native communities studied accounting for about 70% of energy use.
2. Fuel oil is the second largest energy source and is used for electrical generation and space heating for institutional buildings and non-native residences.
3. There are sufficient sustainable wood resources to fuel wood-fired electrical generation systems in all study areas except one.
4. Small Hydro potential is good for one of the ten communities studied.

5. The following systems were recommended:

<u>System</u>	<u>No. of Communities</u>
Wood Boiler/Steam Engine	5
Wind Diesel Hybrid	4
Micro Hydro	1
Conventional Diesel	3
Grid Connection	1
Wood Gasifier	1

Conventional diesel systems are also feasible in some communities.

6. The community decision making process proposed consists of the following steps:

1. determine community objectives;
2. determine which energy options are technically feasible;
3. compare and rank each option by: a) cost, b) operating characteristics, c) impacts.

The process consists of a series of questions designed to ensure that community members understand all of the implications of each option. This process should be reviewed by the Commission for possible application to other proposed projects.

3.2.2 Remote Community Data Base

The purpose of this study is to obtain the following data for all Ontario's 43 remote communities:

- 1) Energy end-use quantities and costs (by each facility and agency).
- 2) Renewable resource potential.
- 3) Community financial and employment base.

The final report is now available.

Major findings

1. The major energy demand in remote communities is for space heating.
2. Wood is the major energy source in nearly all of the remote communities.
3. Institutions and diesel generators are the largest users of liquid fuels in the remote communities and fuel oil is the major liquid fuel used.

4. Use of liquid fuels for residential space heating is largely divided on racial lines between natives and institutional employees - virtually all native homes are heated by wood.
5. Demand for liquid fuels and electricity in remote communities is growing rapidly.
6. Many citizens in remote communities desire access to full service electrical energy at a price competitive with other Ontario citizens.
7. Major opportunities exist for energy conservation programs in remote communities. First priority programs might include:
 - insulation retrofitting and increasing airtightness of homes and institutional facilities.
 - incentives to promote the use of high efficiency wood stoves.
 - investigation of heat recovery systems and mechanically-coupled wind assistance on diesel electrical generators.
 - use of high energy efficiency designs in the construction of new homes and facilities.
8. Liquid fuels are expensive in most remote communities compared to other parts of Ontario, largely as a result of the cost of air transport.
9. Potentially lower cost and more energy efficient transportation modes, i.e. winter roads and summer barge service, are not being fully utilized and are in decline.
10. Wood appears to be the best renewable energy resource option in nearly all of the communities and could be considered in some communities as a fuel for electrical generation using wood boiler/steam engines.
11. Existing wood heating systems are not energy efficient. Community run systems should be adopted.
12. Forest management practices for the cutting of fuel wood are limited and improved silvicultural practices improve productivity and regeneration.
13. Nine communities have a good potential for small-scale hydraulic development.
14. Peat is an alternative nonrenewable energy source. At this time it does not appear to be a viable energy option for these remote communities. Peat inventory information, extraction technology and possible environmental impacts are not fully developed at this time and require additional research.

15. Active solar systems are not viable in these remote communities at this time; any direct solar initiative should be of a passive nature in conjunction with the design of new buildings.
16. Photovoltaic systems have potential for small stand-alone energy using facilities to displace small diesel generators.
17. Wind/diesel systems have potential for all Hudson Bay and James Bay communities.
18. Small wind systems (2-10 kW) have potential for supplying the electrical needs of individual dwellings, government buildings and commercial buildings.

3.2.3 Barriers to the Installation of Renewable Energy Technology in Remote Communities

This study consists of an identification, analysis and ranking of various social, environmental, institutional and technical barriers to the installation of renewable energy technology in remote communities.

The final report will be available in late 1982 or early 1983. The draft report had not been prepared at the time of writing of this submission. Preliminary conclusions are not available.

In our opinion the above studies relate to the mandate of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment in the following way:

Close Relationship:

- 1) Identify the feasibility of alternatives and undertakings.
- 2) Provide useful background data.
- 3) Identify the extent of the natural resources in proximity to remote communities that could be used for energy purposes.

Distant Relationship:

- 1) Deal with projects that are not major in scope.
- 2) Deal with projects that individually do not result in a large environmental impact.

3.3.0 Technology Development Projects

3.3.1 Sudbury/Wind Diesel Hybrid

This project consists of the design, installation and monitoring of an 80 kW wind/diesel installation currently being monitored in Coniston, Ontario. The purpose of the demonstration is to determine the economic feasibility of using wind systems to reduce the fuel consumption of Ontario's remote community diesel generators. The Hudson Bay and James Bay communities in Ontario have sufficient wind regimes to ensure the technical feasibility of such a system.

After all monitoring has been completed in Sudbury in 1983, it is the intention of the Ministry of Energy to relocate the system in Fort Severn, Ontario.

3.3.2 Small Wind System Demonstration

This project consists of the selection, procurement and demonstration of a small 10 kW wind electric system. The system will be procured and monitored at the Atlantic Wind Test Site in Prince Edward Island. The system will then be relocated at the Kortright Centre in Maple, Ontario, and will be demonstrated to the public.

This project will determine the cost and technical feasibility of using small wind generators to replace small diesel generators in remote areas of Northern Ontario. The system is expected to be procured by late 1982 and will be relocated in Ontario by March 1983.

3.3.3 Wood Gasifier/Combustion Engine Demonstration

This project consists of the following three phases:

Phase 1: The assessment and selection of a small 100-300 kW gasifier coupled to a dual fuel engine to produce electric power for remote communities.

Phase 2: The procurement and installation of the system in Ontario.

Phase 3: One year of performance monitoring and public demonstration.

If this system proves to be commercially viable and financially successful these systems could be used to replace diesel generators in remote communities in Ontario.

Note:

The study will also determine quantities of wood required to operate such systems.

3.3.4 Wood boiler steam engine demonstration

This project will determine the cost and technical feasibility of using wood boiler/steam engines to replace diesel generators in remote Ontario communities. The project will include the design and procurement of a 60 kW wood boiler/steam engine set. The system will be operated in a Northern Ontario lumber mill. As previously noted, the Northern Assessments Report (Middleton, 1982) recommended such systems for four remote native communities.

3.3.5 Micro Hydro Feasibility Studies for Muskrat and Oba

Feasibility studies are currently underway to determine the system requirements and costs of installing micro hydro turbines in these two remote communities in Ontario. The final phase of the Oba feasibility study is expected to be available in December 1982. Phase One of the study concluded that the payback for the small hydro installation at Oba would be about 15 years (at which time a replacement for a diesel generator would be required).

The Muskrat Dam feasibility study is expected to be available in March 1983.

In our opinion the above technology development studies relate to the mandate of the Commission in the following ways:

Close relationship:

- 1) Deal with the feasibility of alternative undertakings.
- 2) In total, they could eventually exert a major financial and social (mostly positive) impact.

Distant Relationship:

- 1) The environmental implications of the projects are likely to be minor in extent.
- 2) The number of these systems that will ultimately be installed is not known at this time. However, by the end of 1984 most of the technologies will have been demonstrated. Financial feasibility will be determined at that time.

4.0 Polar Gas Project

The Polar Gas Project is a proposal by a consortium of companies to build a pipeline to connect Arctic frontier reserves of natural gas to the southern Canadian and U.S. markets. The sponsors are Panarctic Oils Limited, TransCanada PipeLines Limited, Petro-Canada, Tenneco Oil of Canada Limited, and the Ontario Energy Corporation. The original application has been withdrawn and since then alternative routing studies have been in progress. One of the routing options would proceed through northwestern Ontario.

The attractiveness of the Polar Gas Project may be reduced to some extent if the proposed Arctic Pilot Project is approved and particularly if it is then subsequently expanded. These two projects are competing proposals for bringing Eastern Arctic gas to Southern markets. The National Energy Board adjourned its hearings on approval of the Arctic Pilot Project because of uncertainty about export markets.

Decisions are expected over the next year on which routing alternative is most appropriate.

5.0 Environmental Assessment Activities

5.1 Introduction

In the area of environmental assessment the Ministry of Energy has prepared a Class Environmental Assessment for Remote Power Projects. The Ministry is also studying the entire range of its programs for potential application of the Environmental Assessment Act..

5.2 A class environmental assessment (E.A.) to cover remote energy supply projects

This document has been prepared by the Ministries of Energy and Northern Affairs to seek approval for small energy installation (less than 2 megawatts) in areas of Ontario which are remote from the electric power grid.

The Class E.A. specifically requests approval for four types of small energy projects. These are:

- (a) small-scale hydraulic systems
- (b) wind systems
- (c) energy systems using Biomass conversion
- (d) energy systems using engines or turbines

The purposes of these projects are as follows:

- a) to provide an adequate, reliable and economical supply of energy to remote locations.
- b) to enhance the stability of remote communities.
- c) to improve the standard of living in remote areas which do not have adequate energy supply.
- d) to reduce the consumption of non-renewable oil based fuels while increasing the use of indigenous and renewable energy.
- e) to establish working examples or demonstrations of new or alternative energy technologies.
- f) to provide energy sources which make attractive opportunities to develop tourist facilities in remote locations.
- g) to reduce noise and exhaust effects of existing energy sources, in particular, diesel generators.

The document is currently in the pre-submission consultation phase and has been widely circulated to other government ministries and to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.

Formal submission of the E.A. to the Ministry of the Environment is expected early in 1983.

6.0 Task Force on Northern Electrification

6.1 Introduction

The Task Force was established October 1, 1982 to review and make recommendations to Cabinet on the state of electrification in remote northern Ontario communities by February 28, 1983. The Task Force is made up of representatives from Ontario Hydro, the Resources Development Secretariat-Indian Affairs, and five Ministries: Energy, Northern Affairs, Natural Resources, Transportation and Communications and Treasury and Economics.

The Task Force is to examine electrification in remote northern communities with regards to existing operations, need for new service, available capital financing methods, rate structures, guidelines for choosing between supply options, integration of development and demonstration programs, responsibility for servicing native communities, service to telecommunications sites and the role of private power companies.

6.2 Terms of Reference

Task Force On Northern Electrification

Purpose: To review and report on the state of electrification in remote northern communities in Ontario and make recommendations to Cabinet.

Review Group: Ministry of Energy - 2
Ministry of Northern Affairs - 2
Ministry of Natural Resources - 1
Ministry of Transportation & Communications - 1
Resources Development Secretariat - Indian Affairs - 1
Ministry of Treasury & Economics - 1
Ontario Hydro - 1

Objective: To review the present state of electrification in northern remote communities and assess the need for future services.

Specifically to review and make recommendations on the following:

1. Operational state of existing services. Their present operational cost and forecast of future costs taking into account the supply and price of fuel oil.
2. The need for electrification in communities without electric power and to recommend guidelines for the establishment of new services.

3. The methods available to provide the capital financing with reference to all potential provincial and federal government sources.
4. The method of operating existing and new services with reference to rate structures, conditions of service and the need for operational subsidies.
5. Guidelines for the choice of on site generation or connection to the Ontario hydro grid.
6. The integration of development and demonstration activities into programs to provide power to remote communities.
7. The responsibility to provide service in native communities.
8. Service to telecommunication sites in established communities.
9. The role of private power companies in supplying service in some areas.

Method of Operation: Meetings of the delegates of each Ministry or agency, each to provide input in their area through briefs or the presentation of information from specialists associated with the items under study.

Meetings in Toronto with travelling to remote areas if considered necessary to see and understand installation or operating problems.

Time Frame: The Task Force to be commenced by October 1, 1982, and report by February 28, 1983.

Report: To the Minister of Energy and the Minister of Northern Affairs.

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The Sioux Lookout Trappers Council submits:

T R A P P E R S N O R T H O F 5 0 °

A Study of Trappers and Their Environment Today

This funded report is addressed to the:

ROYAL COMMISSION OF THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

The Authors:

Wilf Wingenroth

Bruce Smith

Ian Marshal

September-December 1982



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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This report contains the opinions of many individual trappers. Not all opinions expressed in it are necessarily the opinions of the authors.



This report has been prepared with the financial assistance of the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. However, no opinions, positions or recommendations expressed herein should be attributed to the Commission. They are solely the responsibility of the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE THEME

Although this brief was written by trappers, on behalf of trappers, we would also wish that we have acted, if coincidentally, on behalf of most citizens North of 50°; as well as on behalf of the natural environment with all its plant and animal life. It is our wish that this environment be well guarded so that Ontarians will benefit from it for all time. Benefit may come through the material as well as nonmaterial wealth which this country North of 50° has to offer.

Man cannot separate himself from or destroy the ecological processes around him without suffering later.

Man possesses the knowledge to avoid over exploitation. He has not yet learned, however, to rein his greed. Man was intended to make use of nature -- not to destroy it.

"Only when the 'principal' remains whole, can nature provide the 'interest' due him."

We in the North of 50° area have the tremendous privilege, coupled with the almost frightening responsibility, to avoid making the same mistakes in dealing with the environment as have people and

governments around the globe. We have an almost virgin tract of forest as well as the basic knowledge and technology to manage it properly. The only thing which appears to be missing is wisdom. Whether or not we have enough of that remains to be seen.

2. WHY THIS BRIEF WAS WRITTEN

"We trappers are a timid group, we only want to be left alone."

"Why did we come in the open then?"

One of the most potent of forces during the recent four decades was the force of change. Media, teaching establishments, government and industry have, during this time span, preached and promoted changes in all fields and on all levels with such determination, that it became almost a goal in itself to change the world around "for changes sake."

The heading under which millions of changes took place was "progress". According to the dictionary progress is equated with "an advancement toward fuller development" and implies a "move toward the positive".

How does this "Progress" relate to trapping and trappers, their cultures and lifestyles? Our trappers' major grievances and concerns

are based on changes brought about by the very forces of "progress". Our reason for enclosing this term in quotation marks is that most of us see this force as a threat to be expressed by an opposite term. To a trapper true progress is not necessarily equated with increased exploitation of the area North of 50°, nor with increased expansion of the forest industry in this area; nor is it an increase in government regulation and control. Rather, we would see it as a force that would establish and harmonize all the interrelationships between man and nature in this area; also the social, cultural and interracial as well as the economical situation. This could be accomplished by a relaxed, levelheaded, neither time nor target bound approach to resource management, in a way which would be predictable for centuries to come. With much caution and careful study as well as goodwill by everyone involved, a sane relationship between modern man and his environment could be established.

Trappers witness reality. They see rapid advancement of all northern oriented resource industries consuming volumes in two to three years which decades earlier would have required ten years and twice the manpower to exploit. They operate with unnecessary waste and destruction. and while most of us stand scared and wondering, a few have discovered the cause... a philosophy which proclaims that all of the environment is only here to be exploited and consumed. The very term resource,

which is used virtually for everything occurring naturally in this area suggests something to be somehow turned into cash.

Trappers feel threatened by all the development around them. Roads and cuts are expanding everywhere. They realize that the time has arrived when they can no longer withdraw to new hunting grounds. They are now cornered and like a timid muskrat, that will bite when cornered, they are ready to do just that.

This report deals with problems; names them one by one, tries to find where the fault lies, and makes recommendations intended to improve the trappers lot and make his future more predictable.

We trappers also realize that we are but a small group in the boreal forest. We are aware that other segments of the Ontario Public have an interest in it. We certainly agree with the multiple use concept. Forestry as currently practiced does not fit into this concept.

"Clearcut areas effectively eliminate any other land use (except perhaps that of mining)"

It is hard for trappers to show compassion for an industry which mercilessly consumes the environment around us.

We have been aware for some years that the major resource extraction

industries are worried about the growing public concern for the environment....thousand of Northern Ontarians, including many trappers, are voicing their concerns.

Large sums of money are spent every year by the Forest Industry lobby using all currently available means to influence government and public alike to accept their version of the gospel of "multiple land use", of "the renewable resources" and of "industries concern about providing jobs". Granted, for the public it is so easy to just believe their story as "the truth" and to hope that it is indeed the truth.

But then there are many citizens out there in bush jackets and boots. They have looked backstage and seen what the forestry-public-relations presentations don't show. They have come back with a message of terrible waste and unconcerned overexploitation. Often the huge sections of clear-cut bush are only visible from the air... since driving on most highways there is usually a wide enough strip of bush left standing to deceive the traveler about the effects of logging.

The ever increasing scale of the exploitation and the waste are making people aware continually that all is not well.

This report would not have been written 10 years ago. Today, however, the awareness among trappers has increased so much, that it is likely

to be followed by more in the future. So, why was it attempted?

As a group, we have come to realize that the time of socio-political pacifism is at an end. We must, in some way, attempt to secure a greater degree of control over our own lives. For too long we have allowed the Procrustean Bureauocracy to attempt to fit us into its bed. (We are individuals, and on the whole more suited to sleeping bags anyway.)

And so we have become activists. This brief, together with those already submitted and those yet to come, are the result.*

We hope that by using reason and logic, by showing genuine concern and a willingness to compromise, we can enter into a meaningful dialogue with all who in any way use the resources North of 50°.

Anyway, we are giving it a try. This submission, by trappers, on behalf of trappers and the environment of this great area North of 50°, we herewith address to the RCNE in which we place so much hope!

DECEMBER 15, 1982

The Authors, for the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council and many

non-organized trappers North of 50°

Wilf Wingenroth, Author, Researcher

Bruce Smith, Author, Editor

Ian Marshall, Author, Proofreader

* Appendices "A" - "B"

3. A PECULIAR PROBLEM

During the interview period repeated attempts were made, even by government officials, to ridicule the efforts and purpose of the commission, and thereby those of the authors of this brief. One of the authors has to admit redfacedly, to being rather critical of the commission himself, at times. He nevertheless became instrumental in convincing trappers to embark on this project for reason of faith in any exercise that gives the public a chance to speak out.

Meanwhile, this author has spent many hours of studying reports either authored or funded by the commission. He had had to change his opinions and beliefs, and now feels that the commission is indeed serving a valid function, and he is putting much faith in the commission's further efforts.

4. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

How do you give credit to sources without using names?

During the surveying and information gathering process we became acutely aware that a number of the persons involved did not like to be quoted or even named at all, while a minority of persons interviewed said that it was quite OK with them to use their names,

no matter how strong their statements were. We have therefore decided to just list sources by their localities.

We would like to thank all of those who have cooperated with the information gathering process by providing opinions, relating experiences, giving out data and disclosing policies and other information, whatever the case might be.

These were trappers, persons related to the fur trade, persons related to the Ontario Trappers Association (OTA), a number of officials of the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) as well as the Department of Indian Affairs, also officials in the Forest Industry, environmentalists, tourist outfitters, as well as citizens of the north. Thank you all for your cooperation and the information provided.

5. HOW THE PROJECT WAS CARRIED OUT

The decision to write a brief to be presented to the Royal Commission was made by the directors of the SLTC in September 1982. At our September general meeting we announced that with all probability funding by the commission had been decided. Research for the project was begun immediately by interviewing council members. The official opening date for the funded period is September 26, 1982.

During the survey the author felt a very strong message....the trapper's growing loyalty toward their common cause. Opinions and data received in this survey varied so little that the result was almost total concensus among those queried, with the exception of a few topics. Even some of the field experiences related by the trappers to expand a point were similar.

This was the first time that a trapper had contacted such a number of colleagues over such a wide area to discuss gut level issues, and solicit their opinions. The attempts by the author were generally well received, and cooperation was great.

Trappers were also made aware that their problems were common to most of their colleagues, and that a strong consensus exists as to the problem areas, and even in some cases as to what to do about them. Though totally unplanned, there was a public relations spinoff which is quite positive for inter-trapper relations.

6. THE RANGE OF THE SURVEY

We tried to limit our survey to an area that was approximately north of the 50th parallel (location of trapline was of importance, not the trapper's address). To the west we contacted trappers as far as Richan, to the north we travelled to Lac Seul, Pickle Lake,

Osnaburgh, to the east as far as Armstrong. Thunder Bay was visited in order to contact Great Lakes Forest Products, the North West Trappers' Council, The Royal Commission and to do some library research. Other places where government offices as well as trappers were contacted were: Savant Lake, Ignace, Dryden, Vermillion Bay, Allanwater, Umfreville and Hudson. Considerable time and extra travel was spent in locating trappers since many were on their traplines. Unfortunately, some colleagues were impossible to locate because of this.

It has been suggested to us that the majority of the persons interviewed were non-Indian and therefore the study of little value. We would like to inform the reader that of 65 interviews, a total of 30 treaty and 35 nontreaty trappers are represented. Which is approximately the true representation of the area sampled. It is also questionable if an increase in the interviews would have made any difference. We pointed out that there was an almost total agreement on most points. This agreement did not change even after the last of the trappers were queried. Likewise, the points of disagreement were equally uniform.

There was an additional meeting by the directors to discuss several points in this brief. After this meeting and a radio announcement

to local trappers the project was closed for further input, and the wrapup and the compilation of data was begun.

We claim neither that this report is representative for the total area North of 50°, nor that the report is exhaustive and complete for the area represented. There are several subjects which the authors do not treat in depth since they feel ill-equiped and/or had too little time to deal with them properly.

This report contains views, opinions, experiences, grievances and recommendations of the area trappers as well as the official position of the Sioux Lookout Trappers' Council.



S E C T I O N I

T R A P P E R S A N D G O V E R N M E N T



SECTION I
TRAPPERS AND GOVERNMENT

In this chapter we deal with the interrelationship between trappers and government in general, and more specifically between trappers and the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR).

As mentioned before: we claim to be neither complete nor exhaustive. For reasons of time we have concentrated generally on "problems" and try to address those which are current as well as those which can be seen coming in the near future. In omitting to mention any trapper-MNR relations that are running smoothly, we do not wish to imply that those instances don't exist, however they are becoming more rare.

If some of the recommendations in this chapter would be followed, the situation between trappers and government could only improve. To listen to the "Grassroots" and accommodate often makes better government.

A. TRAPPERS AND THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS

Traditionally northern trappers were a somewhat withdrawn, poorly informed collection of individuals. Not only did they never take part in any decision making by governments, but they didn't have a clue about any decisions in the making, nor how to take part in any

of the processes. Had they understood the whole process, they would still have fallen short since the government, both on a political as well as on a bureaucratic level, was rather unwilling to listen to them. This is no wonder, since this was also true of the general public.

Government solicitation of public input in decision making in this area is a rather novel move, becoming more pronounced only in the mid 70's. The various land use planning exercises showed that large segments of the public failed to fully take part, respond or even understand the subject. After a long history of being handed ready-made plans and decisions by the Provincial Government and with no apparent influence or recourse, the public was conditioned to shrug their shoulders, complain a little and generally ignore many a foolish, southern oriented decision.

The authors, during a campaign to take part in the MNR sponsored WPLUP open houses frequently heard such comments as:

"What good does it do to speak out, they will do what they want anyway" or: "They probably have made up their minds and nothing I have to say will make a difference."

This author has had experiences that might back up the above to a degree. When called to attend roads meetings he repeatedly found that roads which were supposedly open to discussion, had in fact already been built.

When we talk here about decision making, we mean the decisions which apply to the northern environment, its people, economy and ecology. Trappers here are keenly interested in the following: Resource allocation, development, extraction and environmental safeguards; and the governing process including laws, policies, directives and administration.

Though trappers have now, and will continue to have, the ambition to inject some input into decisions concerning the above topics, our concept as to how this can best be achieved is still evolving. Since the open forum of a Royal Commission is unlikely to be a permanent one, further openmindedness on the part of the Ontario Government may well be in question.

We are only too aware though, that one of the causes for the Royal Commission was the public outcry and controversy over "under the table dealings" of government with the forest industries, one of these deals being the "Reed Tract" in 1975.

If we are able to make any recommendations on the subject of decision making, then it has as much to do with procedures as with outcome.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that the MNR consult with trappers and trappers councils whenever

trapping-related decisions are made.

- that whenever decisions are made, trappers be considered as much as all other northern residents to have a right to their way of life.
- that whenever developments are planned, these developments be subject to modifications which will ensure the continuing possibility of trapping, both as a business (industry) and a way of life.

B. TRAPPERS AND THE GAME AND FISH ACT

Of the Ontario Regulations which affect trappers, the Game and Fish Act is the most important. In it it is spelled out what the trapper can and cannot do, and also what he must do. In addition to this Act, trapping is subject to a number of provincial as well as regional and district policies. Regional and district procedure directives are of further interest.

In the survey the following became clear:

That the majority of trappers don't understand certain regulations, policies and directives; that they perceive others to be unwarranted, and/or unjust, discriminatory, unclear, contradictory, obsolete, inappropriate, etc.

We have researched this problem and have found the following:

The way the Ministry views trapping is a divided one. On the one hand trapping is considered a business, industry and trade, on the other hand it is considered a recreation and hobby. Depending on who in the MNR is responsible at any given time the view differs from one to the other extreme. It even differs from district to district, yes, even within a district office. The laws which govern trapping reflect this seemingly conflicting attitude (We would like to point out here, that both viewpoints could easily be combined into one, with no necessity for conflict).

The trapper is encouraged, even legislated to produce, and at the same time he is being made to do so in a restrictive atmosphere.

To further complicate the matter there is a double standard being used by MNR, which is highly controversial. It has to do with treaty and nontreaty trappers being treated entirely different. This is the only major point in the survey on which trappers were divided and the authors suggest, that this issue of conflict is not one caused by the trappers themselves, but rather by the way MNR handles the situation.

Beyond this statement, the authors feel not equal to deal with the topic but do want to expound the differences in order to record them the way they were perceived. We understand that virtually all

G & F Regulations can be enforced against nontreaty trappers and those treaty trappers whose trapping activities are not within their proper treaty area. Also that former customary leniency, when it comes to enforce insensitive, inappropriate and controversial regulations will be phased out. In other words:

"All regulations to be enforced in the future."

This is an important aspect since in the past, trappers were frequently assured:

"don't worry about this regulation, we aren't going to enforce it."

Against treaty Indians, only the following three issues are currently being enforced (as per Minister/directive):*

- regulations pertaining to firearm safety
- regulations pertaining to wastage of.....,(fish, game, fur)
- regulations pertaining to selling of....(fish, game, fur)

As a matter of record, the following grievances were expressed by the surveyed trappers:

Treaty Trappers: that they were sometimes prevented from hunting and trapping the way they saw fit, that nontreaty persons were allowed to hunt trap and fish on their treaty areas.

that this subject would quickly leave the topic of trapping and turn into a civil rights/treaty rights issue is clear.

*Appendix "C"

For this reason we will restrict ourselves to quote briefly, as an example, from Treaty No. 9, (the treaties NOT having been read by most of the persons contacted in the survey). This is what it says relating to hunting, trapping and fishing:

"And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country."

Nontreaty Trappers: (the grievances sounded especially bitter when coming from Nontreaty Indians and Metis) Preferred treatment of treaty trappers in almost every respect, lack of enforcement of the more accepted G & F regulations against treaty trappers, and government financial aid to treaty trappers as opposed to nontreaty.

Since we were not going to make recommendations relating to the above issues, we limit ourselves to state that we generally accept the principle of nondiscrimination and basic human rights as seen by all Canadian people.

To deal further with regulations pertaining to trapping, we find

that the Game and Fish regulations and policies leave much to be desired. In the proper chapter we deal with some of the specific issues. We feel that regulations and policies are often designed with bureaucratic- and law enforcement-convenience in mind. That these laws and policies may not at the same time be convenient to trappers, or even sound from a conservation and furbearer management standpoint will become obvious to the reader.

As discussed under "Furbearer Seasons", Ontario is so large and contains so many landscapes and climatic areas that seasons would have to be much more decentralized to make sense from biological and resource management points of view.

Similarly other administrational and other rules should be decentralized much more in order to suit area circumstances. We, the trappers of this area, find it unacceptable for instance, to be subject to rules and regulations that were hatched between North Bay and Toronto, with their problems in mind.

Trappers more than ever, want a hand in making the laws which govern them. They feel, in case of many issues, better equipped to make decisions in the field than to follow rules which do not make sense in a given situation. Wildlife people are also perceived as being largely uninformed when it comes to the actualities of our trade. Many strong comments were received about this subject.

We trappers, nevertheless, fully understand that some regulation is indeed essential if the north is to survive the onslaught of civilization. Totally free development can no longer be tolerated in this age of masses and machinery.

We are aware that in this brief we are asking:

- (a) for less stringent government control measures, in some instances, for ourselves, and:
- (b) more control for the corporate resource industry.

This is not intended to reflect ambivalence or inconsistency. It does reflect, however knowledge of the fact that large resource extraction is extremely disruptive to the natural environment, while trapping could go on forever without harm to the environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- that the basic theme of regulations and policies be one of conservation and perpetuity in trapping
- that trapping economy be considered fully
- that cultural and way of life considerations be also made
- that all trappers have input in the making of the rules and
- that these be decided on in a more local fashion
- that these reflect the local conditions and requirements
- that ease of enforcement and administration be only considered after the other points are taken care of.

C. FURBEARER SEASONS - HOW SHOULD THEY BE SET?

Seasons for furbearers in Ontario were first introduced as a conservation measure. Two centuries of largely uncontrolled trapping had at the time reduced some furbearer populations severely. At one time beaver and muskrat were taken right through the summer. Beaver fur at that time was used mainly to produce felt hats. It wasn't until later in the last century that primeness of these pelts, then used as fur, became a consideration. This was then a second consideration leading to establishing of open and closed seasons.

It was at the time, desired that the open season should ideally coincide with the time in which the fur was more or less prime, in order to bring the best return but giving the animals protection during their propagation phase as well. If we look at these objectives today then we have to admit that they have not been achieved in the case of some furbearers. We follow with some of the reasons:

- pelt saleability and fur quality do not necessarily coincide with primeness of the pelt
- fur quality and maturity is affected by annual food and weather conditions, as well as by more general shift of the climate.

Beaver being a very important furbearer in our area and beaver season being the most important contested one, may serve here as an example:

- the beaver season opens in the Sioux Lookout area on October 15th, as it does in Winisk and Fort Frances. The climatic differences at these locations are drastic. Small lakes and creeks (this is where these animals are found) freeze up hardly later than around the first week of November near Sioux Lookout, during early to mid October near Winisk and around the first week of December near Fort Frances. In the light of these differences it is obvious that setting October 15th as an opening date must be largely arbitrary, because it is either way too early for Fort Frances, if Winisk is right on, or vice versa. How trappers feel about this and recommendations follows later.

We have in part discussed how legislating to take quality fur could have missed the goal in the case of beaver. Another aim in setting seasons was to protect the species during their time of propagation, meaning the time span from mating through and until the young have become independent. This aim could be achieved in the case of most furbearers excepting Marten and Fisher. (Because of delayed implantation of the ova; mating taking place in the spring and summer of the previous year).

Here again we look at beaver as an example. Knowing, that in the Sioux Lookout area the young are born between the 10th and the 30th of May and given a gestation period of about 105 days, mating must

take place sometime in February. By rights beaver trapping might end then, given the above goal of noninterference with the reproductive cycle. Removing either partner of the breeding pair would result in the colony becoming unproductive for that year.

Back to fur quality of beaver. This deteriorates rapidly during the latter part of the winter even though pelt primeness still increases. By late April, early May, the beaver caught in the Sioux Lookout area have dropped to 1/2 or 1/3 of their peak value. About the same time the small lakes and creeks open up again causing some trappers to go "spring trapping".

Spring trapping is no longer carried out by most non-native trappers in the province. In addition to poor economics it is considered wasteful to catch, and this is hard to avoid, the highly pregnant or nursing females. A number of council members would therefore support a much earlier closing date for beaver. Why we are not making this a recommendation follows:

This is a point on which the trappers are divided. While those suggesting earlier closing are non-treaty members of the trapping community, a large number of treaty Indian trappers (eg. Osnabourgh, Pickle Lake) want the season left as is or have it extended even to June 10th, claiming this to be an old custom.

In researching this late trapping trend by treaty trappers we found the following:

- a) it is^{often} customary for these colleagues to trap beaver in open water only (both early in the fall as well as in the spring)
- b) Spring trapping is viewed as an important "hunting holiday" the long winter being finally over, and the bush again yielding fish, game and birds. This holiday often taken in family groups is something traditional to the northern Indian trappers.
- They feel strongly about its importance.

Now to discuss the beginning of the beaver trapping season. Years ago, when roads were scarce and game wardens as well, trappers were law unto themselves. Beavers were taken a few at a time starting late in September to establish pelt maturity and as soon as the trapper was impressed with the quality, full scale trapping was begun. Depending on weather conditions he might have started anytime between September 25th and October 15th.

Early trapping success was and still is a most important ingredient in the economics of trapping. These are the reasons that are valid today, as seen and experienced by the Sioux Lookout trappers, for their area:

- a) Pelts are of a perfectly saleable quality much earlier than October 15th (as early as October 1st). Price discount compared with winter peak quality is no more than 10% to 15%,

- b) Net pelt revenue is considerably higher for beaver taken during the Fall open water trapping because of less and cheaper equipment being used, and far less fuel burned. Net income for open water fall beaver pelts has been estimated by us to be in the range of 80% to 100% higher than for the same pelts taken through the ice.
- c) trapping success is vastly superior in the fall to that in the winter. In this area the beavers are very active in early October, activity slows right down soon after the middle of this month.
- d) Freezeup occurs quite early every second year usually around the 20th of October near Sioux Lookout, much earlier farther north. This refers to the freeze up of small lakes, bays and creeks where most beaver trapping is done. Trappers have very often lost both traps and animals due to unexpected freeze up and have become wary about this loss and waste.

We conclude that:

EARLY - open water fall trapping (first two weeks in October) makes sense for reasons of good economics, success, ease of travel and general work efficiency.

LATE - "Open water" fall trapping makes less sense for reasons of poorer economics, less success, terrible travel conditions (much breaking of ice and equipment) poor work efficiency, frequent loss of traps and animals.

It must be noted that those trappers who for some reason or other

prefer to trap late, or who do not have quite these adverse conditions would be perfectly free to choose any later date to start their operation. Also, that in some years of warm fall weather the trappers would naturally choose to trap later. Yet another point is that in recent years earlier and flatter beavers brought stronger prices.

Several trappers complained about high loss of beavers due to poaching and needless destruction by big game hunters, and felt this could be somewhat reduced if they were free to trap the vulnerable locations earlier.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that the MNR work closely together with local trapper groups and consult experienced trappers on the establishing of seasons.
- that funds be made available to do local studies relating to fur bearer life histories and the fur maturing process in order to set more meaningful seasons.
- that the seasons be changed in the case of some furbearers, for which ample evidence is already available and consistent pressure by experienced trappers exists.
- that economic reasons be considered fully when setting seasons in order to maximize the net income of the trapper.

D. THE QUOTA SYSTEM - DO WE NEED IT?

1. General Comments

As with seasons for the taking of furbearers, the quota system was first intended to limit catches... to give depleted animal populations a chance to rebuild as well as to prevent such depletion from happening again. In this area quotas were first set in 1945, primarily for beaver.

The setting of quotas was handled in a fairly lax manner in all those cases where populations were sufficiently stable. Usually the trapper was asked how many beavers he would like to catch. For a long time beaver remained the only animal put on a quota, but in recent years other furbearers were "quotaed" in some districts of the Kenora Region. In the case of Ignace, this happened recently. When enquiring about this change in policy, the author was told that it was being done because of continuous poor trapping performance in the district, i.e., a number of trappers did not take much besides a few beavers. The policy was initiated in order to remove consistently unambitious trapline holders from their lines. The reaction of trappers interviewed (not the unproductive ones) is one of puzzlement and fear however, and this measure perceived by them as repressive.

We have to explain at this point that the quota system has now received an additional function - that of a goal to be attained.* It is not a

new phenomenon that governments will try to influence people or industries to produce by persuasion, enticement or force. The term "target" has become much used in more recent MNR papers, both internal and public. This term is applied to achievement goals for every resource extraction industry and, amazingly even in the context of recreational activities. One is amazed to learn for instance that targets for "harvesting" a given number of moose per year, or a given number of back country travel opportunities supplied are a criterion for planning moose seasons or wilderness parks. Clearly this promotes or even dictates resource use and/or consumption "for its own sake".

Trapping is no exception. In the case of the Sioux Lookout District land use plan, a doubling of the beaver catch to 25,222 pelts per annum is envisioned. Red Lake plans to triple the beaver take to almost 20,000 pelts. This planning may be based on faulty wildlife biology which will be explained later.

The lever which the MNR plans to use in the achievement of these goals is essentially the regulation 415/section 6(B) of the Game and Fish Act.* Carefully rephrased this intent comes out like this in the Strategic Land Use Plan:

"The present beaver harvest in the planning Region is below the permitted quota, thus trappers will be encouraged by the Ministry to use the trapline resource

*Appendix "D", Page 2

more fully in keeping with permitted quotas. Preference will be given to those trappers who wish to harvest fully the resource available."

The above mentioned "encouragement" has so far taken the form of concealed and open threats by MNR staff to separate trappers from traplines. Quite a number of trappers in the survey (over 20) complained about this, and these complaints were directed against Dryden, Sioux Lookout and Ignace staff, but none were received in the case of Nipigon District (perhaps because only 4 trappers interviewed from this district). At any rate all serious trappers are irked by being threatened into performance. This stands out strongly. Many trappers are opposed to a set quota altogether. About an equal number of trappers will accept a quota as limitation. Nearly all feel that only they themselves can set such a quota if it is to be meaningful. Every trapper in the survey was vehemently opposed to a quota assigned by MNR (The exception being when a species is judged to be in danger.)

The more productive trappers complained about beaver quotas being set too high, however some trappers (especially Osnaburgh) complained about too low a quota, thereby eliminating incentive for young trappers in particular to travel extended distances to their lines in order to take just a few beaver pelts. (It must be mentioned here, that the beaver carcasses are of great importance as bait for other furbearers. e.g. few carcasses available results in low success for other furbearers.)

If the quota system were to be acceptable from a wildlife biological and managerial viewpoint then the following criteria would have to be met.

- a) the total population of each species to be quotaed has to be known at least approximately per trapline area; also
- b) the theoretical reproductive rate per annum; and
- c) the theoretical excess rate (excess numbers of animals not needed to maintain stable population); and
- d) the variable factors which influence the real excess rate (like weather, water levels, food supply) have to be taken into account.

Even in the case of farming, where some of the factors are not variable but predetermined (amount of seed, fertilizer, acreage) the outcome of the yield is hard to predict.

In the case of furbearer populations, very little research has been done. As for the above points, no guidelines other than arbitrary ones exist.

When it comes to species we contend that probably beaver is the only one for which a non-arbitrary quota can ever be set. This would still be difficult, expensive and time consuming and could only be done by persons with vast experience in this field.

2. Beaver Surveys

Many trappers had something to say about beaver surveys. Mainly that:

- (a) they are most often very inaccurate as to the number of live houses counted against those missed, as well as rocks, deadfalls, islands, dams and dead houses counted as live ones,
- (b) live colonies have no indicator for the number of animals they contain (may contain anywhere between one and twelve animals)
- (c) even if the actual number of animals were known this could not result in accurate quota unless the current excess rate was determined.

3. Economics Of Quota System

If the "quota to be attained" scheme ever became effective, which is very questionable at this point due to resistance by the trapper, it would ultimately lead to fur produced against, or at least out of step with the market's demand. It could lead to glut and deflating prices, eventually leading to economic hardship to many trappers. Also, it would not constitute free enterprise and will in the future be fought against by all responsible trapper groups.

A comment heard frequently by the researcher went something like this:

"who...came up with this policy anyway."

Just why would there be so much fuss about "managing beaver production" (read: increasing take) when nobody in this region seems to look after "managing lynx production?"

In the case of lynx the MNR totally failed to move and invoke the quota system to do that for which it was designed: limit catches as a conservation measure. When asked if they would go along with protecting a temporarily rare furbearer all trappers agreed: "absolutely", "sure", "definitely". Some trappers gave examples of freeing lynx from traps when they felt conservation was in order. Others, however pointed out that a conservation move would have to come from the MNR in this case, due to the very mobile nature of this species. "If I don't catch him - Joe (his neighbour) will catch him for sure."

There is a theory often used to back up the notion that furbearer populations have to be decimated to remain healthy. It is taught that wildlife populations often build up only to crash to lower levels due to disease. The authors contend that this scheme though sometimes valid is not universal, that it is not yet fully understood and that it should not be used as an excuse to dictate heavy trapping. The statement: "Use it or you'll lose it!" referring to the "fur resource" is abominable. Also, we would like to point out that in the millenia before MNR "managed the resource", beaver and other furbearers certainly didn't die out.

In those parts of Ontario in which the environment has been altered by farming, logging and civilization in general, conditions often became vastly more favourable beaver habitat. The wolves (which are the main limiting predator of beavers in the north) are obviously too scarce to limit beaver in these artificially created habitats. If over population and disease would become a problem in this case, it doesn't mean that this necessarily must happen in the northern environment.

The Ignace and Sioux Lookout District offices were contacted to find out how the quota system was being handled at present. The following is the essence of the comments recorded, in random sequence.

IGNACE: Cooperation and goodwill is available. If trappers contact this office they can have quotas raised or lowered, (for trappers with good record). Quotas in most cases are set arbitrarily. A number of trappers have very poor records. Hope that the recently founded Ignace Trappers' Council will help overcome problems and build a communication bridge. Trappers who fail to achieve quotas should contact district manager and inform him before season ends. Use quota target to establish and oust low-productive trappers.

SIOUX LOOKOUT: Cooperation and goodwill available. Some adjustment of quotas possible. Quota system to be used as a means to get at unproductive trappers. Have to be really bad though. "Grey areas not tampered with". Cooperation with trapper's council desired.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

It can be seen that the quota system is an increasingly contested point for trappers. The following recommendations may alleviate some of the problems. We recommend:

- that quotas be set only as an upper limit of catch, and only for the purpose of conservation.
- that the Game and Fish Act be amended to eliminate the "minimum to be attained (75%)" clause entirely,
- that alternate methods be used to get at nonproductive trapline holders.
- that a "zero" quota be set as a temporary conservation measure whenever a specie becomes rare. This may be necessary on a larger than district basis.
- that instead of wildlife staff determining the quota figure, it be set by the trappers themselves as a "catch proposal".
- that government sponsored beaver surveys be conducted on a choice basis by the trappers themselves, with the furthering of trapping efficiency in mind. Such a system is more likely to become popular with trappers and might be cheaper and more accurate, as well as promote cooperation between MNR and trappers.
- that trapping activity be allowed to adjust to market conditions, and
- that in the case of overabundance due to poor market conditions or nuisance animals, the MNR either use compensation or bounty as an

incentive to trap, if indeed overabundance would occur and pose a problem.

- that it be recognized that a steady, even output of pelts is not economical for market reasons, and that trappers cannot store pelts to sell at a later time.

E. TRAPLINE CONTRACTS

A number of trappers, all of these located in the Ignace District, complained about an issue which is called "Registered Trapline Agreement".* This is a one page paper contract reiterating several points from the Game and Fish Act which pertain to trapping. Two of these points refer to trapline cabins and quota legislation. Both these points were very much contested by all trappers (see appropriate chapter) and trappers felt ill at ease being forced to sign this form. An accompanying letter instructed the recipient to sign this agreement, after which their current licence would be issued.** Since this implied that signing this form was a prerequisite to receiving the licence, most trappers did so. One of the authors, on challenging this issue, found this to be a) the only district in the region to use this custom, b) not backed up by any law or regulation, in other words, the trappers should receive their licences without any such condition.***

Recently this author met with a representative of the Ignace district office and was told that:

* Appendix "E.1"

** Appendix "E.2"

*** Appendix "E.3"

- a) indeed signing of this agreement was not a condition to receiving a licence
- b) it was only intended to be a convenience toward the trapper, to make him understand important parts of the G & F Act.
- c) it was not currently being issued.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that Registered Trapline Agreements no longer be used.
- that those sections in the Game and Fish Act that are being consistently challenged by the trapping community be reviewed and eventually changed with the input of the trappers.

F. TRAPLINE CABINS

1. General Comments

Ever since trapping in Ontario was an occupation or a way of life trappers have lived on the land which they trapped. This was, of course, the only feasible way before the advent of motorized transportation. The trapper commuting to and from the trapline on a daily basis is a relatively recent custom, development probably starting right after the war, with trucks and in farming areas. At the same time outboard motors became more numerous, but since these were small, commuting over waterways was out of the question. The advent of the advanced snowmobile in the mid-sixties gave trappers in southern and central areas the choice to commute.

Probably in most southern and some central areas, commuting has become the norm. In our area, North of 50°, it is still the exception, only being used in the case of town fringe traplines. The majority of lines are being worked from trapline cabins which the trapper uses as residence during his trapping endeavours. These may be spaced over a series of weekends only, however more often the trapper will move out in the field for periods of weeks, even months. A number of trappers in the survey were found to live right on their trapline areas, either on their own property or on leased land or on crown land. Some trappers have only their main camp, but most have between one and seven additional cabins as line or work cabins.

2. Line Cabins

The importance of these cabins cannot be over stressed. Trappers stated that, in order to trap safely and efficiently, not only did they need enough cabins, but also did these have to be conveniently located. They should take into account the trapper's travel patterns rather than the distance between cabins on the map. Several senior trappers related how they had fallen through the ice, or hurt themselves, or had equipment breakdowns, in each case a cabin within their reach meant survival. The authors have had similar experiences, as well as know of trappers perishing because they did not have a cabin within reach.

In order to consider convenience, the distance between line cabins must be seen in relation to the equipment which the trapper is using, such as snowshoes vs. snowmobile, canoe vs. speedboat. Increasingly the more basic modes of travel are seen to come back, probably caused by high equipment, maintenance and fuel costs. Also the need for cabins is dictated by geographical situation, time of year, furbearer availability and pelt prices.

All of these considered, and safety factors taken into account, the trapper feels that distance between cabins should not exceed 5 miles.

The question of quality came up and it was felt that line cabins need be neither large nor fancy, while main camps were expected to suit the trappers accustomed lifestyle.

3. Trapline Transfer:

This topic is dealt with here because in nearly every case the trapline cabins are the main issue in the transfer of lines. Basically the trappers believe the following:

- that they themselves should be the ones who decide who gets the trapline,
- that their heirs should be given this choice in case of their deceasing,
- that their cabins are their most important equity, in some cases constitute virtually all they own.

Further to this topic we refer you to the following appendices: "F"

- 1) Old trapline cabin and transfer policy
- 2) Brief by one of the authors to the Ontario Trappers' Association
on the topic of cabins and transfer
- 3) new trapline cabin and transfer policy

4. Problems

A number of trappers were annoyed over the fact that people were often breaking into their cabins, using these, sometimes vandalizing, stealing, etc. in particular stealing woodstoves, motors, chain saws and traps. This problem is prevalent in areas accessed by logging roads and to a lesser degree around large lakes with a lot of tourism.

When asked who they suspected for these acts, all of the complaining trappers pointed at hunters, particularly local hunters from the Dryden area, incidentally the same was the case in cases of poaching.

As one trapper put it: "I have to babysit my trapline every fall."

We don't claim to have a surefire way to alleviate this problem of tampering with cabins, in as much as cottages are also affected.

Perhaps though, "de-accessing" the area after logging would be partly effective.

Another problem to do with trapline cabins was indentified as stemming from MNR's reluctance to allow these in the first place.

Perhaps this is in order to alleviate the above problems??

A number of trappers have problems in securing permits to construct base camps as well as line cabins, for which they were willing to prove a need. Reasons for denying the permits ranged from:

"there is no need for you guys to have all those cabins."

"xxxx(trapper's name) can drive to his line in 30 minutes."

"the public might question the trapper's privilege to have all those cabins."

"You just want to use them for your tourists."

"You already have a cabin on that line."

Since government agencies always have official reasons as well as real ones, we would like to suggest a possibility of the real reasons for MNR's reluctance to allowing cabins:

- a) MNR might want trappers to have as little as possible in equity on their areas (easier to get rid of a trapper?
easier to force a transfer?)
- b) these cabins might get in the way of logging operations
road plans, etc. and might have to be considered.

Or in other words, for ease of bureaucratic administration.

Not long ago there would have been an additional grievance by trappers against the MNR. As mentioned before: a number of trappers live right on their traplines, some even throughout the year. All trappers which were asked in the survey felt this to be a choice that every trapper should have. However it happens to be in

contradiction to the trapline cabin policies to do so. Until two years ago the trapper would have had to leave his cabin two weeks after the close of the trapping season (ending June 30), which is the 15th of July, only to be allowed to come back August 17 or two weeks before the start of the new season, which is September 1st. By a stroke of genius the trapping season, as printed on the licence now, was extended to August 31st, which now gives the trapper the right to stay in his cabin for 12 months, during which he can legally trap, e.g. wolves. No more taking a holiday and going to Hawaii between July 14th and August 17th! Why do we address this past problem? Because we believe this change of regulation was not intended to make it possible for trappers to live on their traplines. Further restrictions are sure to come!

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that trappers be allowed and encouraged to construct and maintain trapline cabins in a fashion that makes trapping a more efficient and safe occupation.
- that they be encouraged to use these cabins as much as possible in order to achieve better economy and in order to take their catch with as little waste of this resource and as little waste of fossil fuels as possible.
- that the MNR aid trappers in the selection of sites for their cabins that will be appropriate for their operation at the same time will

be sheltered from the public and out of the way of future planned resource extraction.

- that a scheme be developed by the appropriate government agencies to make it possible for willing trappers to full time trap and homestead on their traplines with a goal of year round self-sufficiency being granted long term leases, thereby relieving some pressure on the local labour and housing market, in the same time improving the long term fur take.
- that trapper cabins be seen as an important business equity and that senior trappers (over 10 years of steady trapping one line) be given the choice to buy or lease the ground on which their main camp is located. (In the case of full time trappers this may be their only equity, which when cashed, may be their only retirement possibility.)

G. HOW CAN THE GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY THE MNR, AID THE TRAPPING INDUSTRY?

We would like to draw your attention to the following discrepancies:

- a) The government (MNR), by setting targets, is endeavouring to greatly increase the take of furbearers between now and the year 2000 in the West Patricia planning unit.
- b) The MNR (on a Provincial basis) is poised to pass and/or enforce legislation that restricts trappers in their trade, thereby, preventing a possible increase in fur production. Also this makes trappers unsure about the future, discourages strong commitment to trapping, as well as investment on their part.

c) The MNR is currently following a course of action which clearly favours large scale extraction, thereby reducing the furbearer producing land base rapidly.

We would suggest a somewhat different course:

a) Aim for moderate increases, where possible, in fur production by motivating trappers through schemes of financial aid. This could be in the form of travel allowances, bonuses, grants to build cabins, portages, etc. and in the form of involving trappers in furbearer research projects, surveys and so on. A certain amount of seniority, proof of commitment to trapping etc. would be required. Proof for grants being used in proper fashion and need for projects could be established much more easily than in the case of the logging industry. The size of grants might be tied to previous catches, thereby creating strong incentive factors. There would be no discriminatory stipulations. Treaty as well as nontreaty trappers would be eligible.

Not to seem immodest, we would like to remind the reader that nearly all other resource industries have been receiving massive amounts of aid in the past. Receiving government aid is certainly not a trapper's invention. The items we are asking for have parallels in the logging, fishing, tourist and mining industries.

b) REGULATIONS. Instead of needing more of these, trappers would rather see some of the old privileges reestablished. To state one example: The gill net licence which trappers could apply for as recently as 14 years ago, should be reinstated. Today trappers need coarse fish for bait as much as ever before. It is not feasible to catch coarse fish on a hook and line for bait purposes. The MNR is well aware of this. It is not even feasible to catch game fish in the amounts needed for bait in fall and winter. Anyway, the use of game fish as bait is illegal. Here is one very good instance for MNR to show benevolence toward the trapper without any cost. All trappers in the survey felt the need to be legally able to use gill nets for this purpose. One trapper has, what we feel to be an excellent suggestion to make:

"The MNR could lend or lease a net to each trapper who applies for it (one short net per trapline, 30-50 ft), for a period of two to three weeks immediately preceding normal freeze up time."

A variety of restrictions could be applied, if necessary, to limit the trapper to what the intent is: to allow him to catch trap bait. Needless to point out that a 50 foot net won't make him a commercial fisherman!

New trap legislation,*as well as the trapper's desire to trap more humanely, will eventually force him to change over to killer traps.

*Appendix "G"

Here is another possibility for the government to assist trappers. Already the OTA is leading the way by offering bodygrip traps in exchange for leg-hold traps.

At this point one of the authors would like to ask a pointed question:

"What has become of the submissions of hundreds of traps made to the Federal/Provincial Committee for Humane Trapping? How can there be a real improvement in trapping technology when only 4 sizes of a specific type of bodygripping trap is on the market to replace dozens of styles of leghold traps? Does it mean that of the hundreds of possibilities only these few remain? It didn't matter before, but now that laws are in the making to limit us, it does matter!"

H. NO HUNTING AREAS

A problem resulting from areas being closed to hunting due to logging operations is currently being discussed at various levels by trappers and MNR personnel alike. The problem here lies apparently with the Game and Fish Act, Section 18, 1*, and could easily be rectified. Several trappers are currently affected by such areas, in two cases about 1/2 of the trapping area is closed. Trappers are prevented from transporting a gun across such areas, and certainly to use one in the

*Game & Fish Act - Section 18, 1

No person shall hunt or fish or with any gun or sporting implement fishing rod or tackle in his possession go upon any inclosed or unenclosed land or water, after he has had oral or written notice not to hunt or fish thereon, by the owner or by a person authorized by the owner to give such notice.....

pursuit of their trapping/hunting of furbearers. The use of a gun, in most cases of a low powered rifle, is very important to them, particularly in the fall of the year. This restriction can in some cases cut success drastically. Our council, as well as the OTA will not stand for this limitation. Why has this become a problem now?

- This legislation was rarely enforced, in fact until last year, was not enforced in either Dryden or Sioux Lookout districts.
- Also, the areas closed to hunting have increased in number and size in recent years.

We would like to point to the following inconsistency: The "No Hunting" signs crop up just before open season for moose and often disappear right after. At any rate they are dated December 15th, after which date the areas are presumably open. If they are put up with safety in mind, why this timespan?

We have approached representatives of Great Lakes Forest Products (GLFP), the Ontario Trappers' Association and three MNR District Offices with this problem. Here is what we found:

- GLFP is concerned about worker safety. Big game hunters are a concern but not trappers. The company in no way intends to restrict a trapper from carrying a low powered rifle in his business.
- OTA will not stand for this kind of ruling. Trappers must not be prevented from carrying a gun as a tool of the trade. Will take steps to ensure change if necessary.

- Ignace District Office: Yes, trappers will be charged if they carry firearms in "no hunting areas". This law makes no exception to trappers. It is a safety concern. Safety supercedes trapping.
- Dryden District Office: The law requires us to charge trappers if they have guns in possession in those areas. It is not a regulation with safety in mind, but intends to restrict hunting. Safety is not even mentioned.
- Sioux Lookout District Office:
"We don't see it as a problem. Our job is not to put you out of business."

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that this regulation be changed immediately.
- The OTA as well as the councils should have input.
- Our concern with rifle caliber size is that it be sufficient to kill beaver and otter humanely.

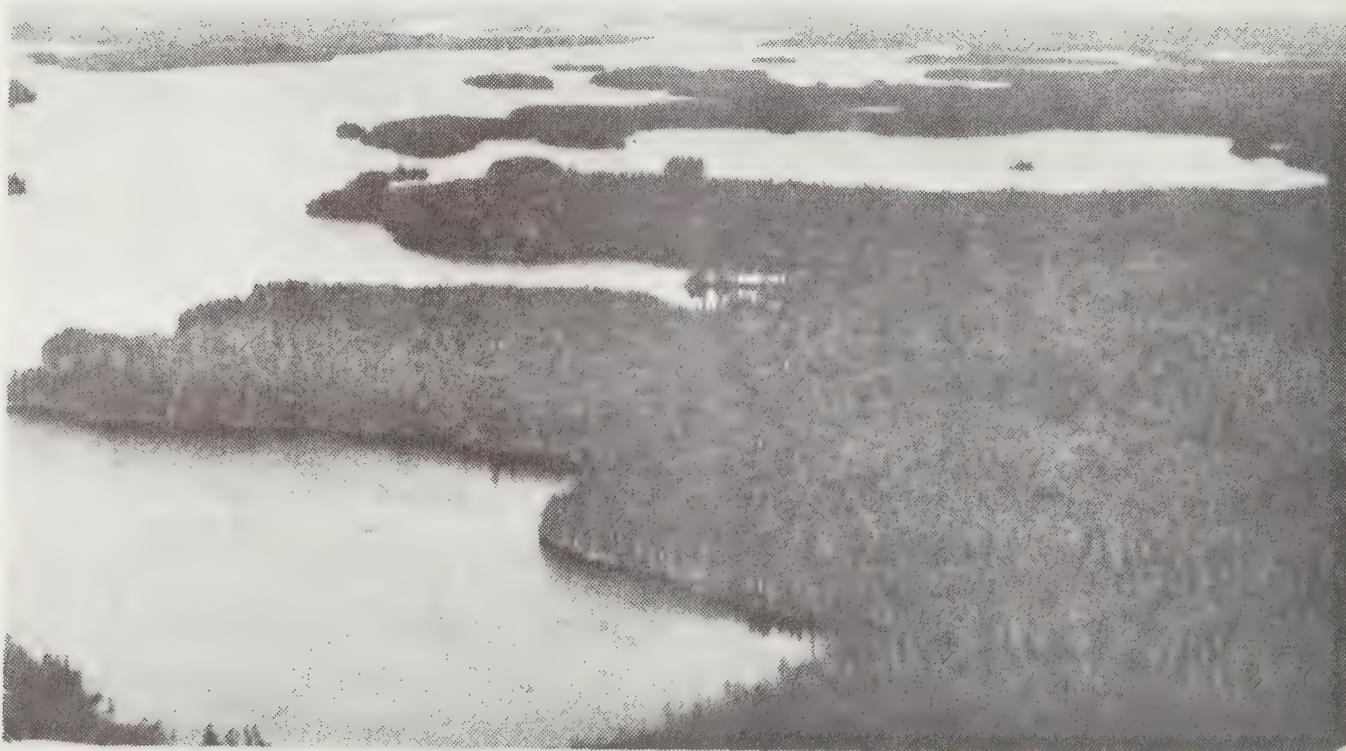
I. SLUPWPLUPDLUPNWLUP

Most trappers of our area haven't a clue as to the importance behind the above placed hieroglyphics. After studying all the relevant documents on the above process we are still somewhat in a daze. As the saying goes: "You have to be on the inside of the 'outfit' to understand it all."

We understand all too well: the whole process is heavily biased toward the theme of exploitation of the north, and this, despite heroic inside attempts to balance the powers. We trappers do know what we want though. A number of ideas brought forth in this report would be relevant to the process. It has become known to us recently, that the Minister of Natural Resources has stated that the final closing of the NWSLUP is not expected until the recommendations by the Commission are in. We would therefore be content to hope that many of our recommendations will be taken into consideration when drawing up the final Commission Report.

S E C T I O N I I

T H E T R A P P E R A N D
T H E N A T U R A L E N V I R O N M E N T



SECTION II

THE TRAPPER AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

A. TRAPPERS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

We would like to point out the fact that any errors in furbearer management cannot have lasting ill effects, as these animals, excepting black bear, are generally prolific and also have a short generation span.

We reject in this context any counter-charges levelled at us by the logging lobby, that "harvesting of the fur resource" is analog to the "harvesting of the timber resource". Because this would be comparing the removal of the total boreal forest of an area (with a generation span of at least 100 years) to the removal of a percentage per area of furbearing animals (having a generation span of 3 to 12 years).

Recommendations relating to trappers and the environment, especially making trapping even more ecologically acceptable, have been tabled under other topics.

B. TRAPPERS AND PARKS

In dealing with this topic one must first look at the basic reasons for the establishing of parks. Creation of parks is a worldwide endeavour and is a measure to protect samples of all natural world environments especially the different biomes. This protection became pressing as

total resource exploitation zeros in on the worlds' last remaining ecologically intact areas. In Ontario this pressure is currently greatest in the northern areas, the southern and central ones having been 'looked after' earlier. Modern methods, as opposed to the older soft technology, are vastly more destructive. In addition, the northern environment is more fragile and less apt to repair itself. This makes exclusion of parts of the biome from heavy extraction all the more important.

As per the MNR internal document, the so called "Monzon Report", the following functions are assigned to parks:

- protection of environment (all or certain features) historical and heritage protection, and recreational, tourism and learning function.
- Of the 6 different classes of parks proposed only two are of general concern to trappers, affecting, possibly a number of them: Nature Reserves and Wilderness Parks. For ecological reasons both of these types have to be very large.

The MNR's parks planning endeavours have generated much public interest, drawing praise from one side and damning criticism from the other.

Parks proponents are most often opponents of the logging industry, that industry having brought condemnation on itself by its record of

overexploitation and waste, fueled by corporate greed and lack of sound forest management practices.

The majority of our trappers, for whatever reason, are pro-parks in principle.

If during the phase of the open houses they would have been better informed, they might have come out with this message much more strongly. Especially in the case of treaty trappers, who were very much concerned about being able to continue trapping in the areas in question. (As we now understand what is said in the "Blue Book", there is no question as to trapping being able to continue in most parks, almost in perpetuity.) Examples of how trapping is handled in other parks only reinforces this probability (Quetico, Polar Bear, Winisk)*

As we said above, the majority of trappers are pro-parks in principle. They also feel that their impact on the environment is basically negligible and in some cases is seen as mildly "negative" or mildly "positive".

The authors feel that moderate and responsibly handled trapping would fit into the scheme of the balance of nature and could be carried out indefinitely without ill effects to the ecosystems. As with any other "natural raw material" extraction - it is the scale of the extraction that makes the difference.

* Appendix "C"

Two trappers were exceptions, being strongly anti-park. Both were full time loggers who had accepted the forest industry stand on the issue. Both also stated that trapping was not of utter importance to them either economically or as recreation.

Seven trappers were of the pro-parks side to the degree that they would consider giving up trapping, if this would become a determining issue, or relocate, rather than their trapping to become damaging to the parks idea. One put it this way:

"I'd rather see an area made into a park in which I can't trap, than to see it made into clearcuts on which there's no point to trap."

A number of others feel like this:

"Why don't they (MNR) make parks, so that people can hunt and trap and fish in there, but don't ever allow roads and cutting? A park is supposed to protect an area, and I think what it needs most is protection from being mowed down."

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that trapping be allowed in parks; exceptions being e.g. areas with heavy recreation activity, furbearer scarcity, very small parks.
- that native and non-native trapping be treated equal.

- that accepted modes of travel be allowed. We can accept limitation as to excluding certain areas from such travel or exclusion of certain furbearer species, also time-phase (season) limitations.
- If trapping has to be phased out, then the grandfather clause should apply. Eventually in these cases the government should buy out the trapper's equity, as has been done in cases involving commercial fishing.
- Subsidized relocation of trappers is also acceptable.

The above recommendations are a try at reaching a compromise between the different opinions of the trappers hopefully acceptable to all trappers, but solely the suggestions of the authors.

C. LOGGING - HOW DOES IT AFFECT TRAPPING

1. The Basic Problem

A thorough study of the effects of logging on trapping was commissioned by the RCNE and carried out by the University of Waterloo. Through this, the "Suffling Report", the major problems and grievances have been presented.

However, since logging vs trapping is the single most important issue facing trappers North of 50° today, we will briefly repeat all the points of interest relating to this topic as we the trappers see them.

Logging in our area is done almost exclusively in clearcut fashion. Clearcut areas are hostile to almost any members of the boreal forest community (except certain lichen, vaccinium and ledum species), even to the young evergreen trees which are expected to grow there.

We see a difference in summer and winter cuts, the former showing vastly more disturbance of the forest soil, due to heavy equipment tearing it up. The precipitation moderating action of the forest is absent and remains so for a number of years, longer than after a fire. Erosion and flooding has been observed with effects to silting of streams and small lakes as well as the breaking of beaver dams. In the logged areas the remaining island of forest stands usually suffer windblow and water starvation due to dropping soil-water levels. Low lying areas of timber are now frequently flooded and dying.

Not to go into more ecological details, we submit that the species and subspecies of furbearing animals in these areas do not live or propagate in areas clearcut by logging. Consequently, logged areas can be effectively removed from the fur producing land base. Remaining stands or groves of trees which are often left between large cuts can be added to the sum total of the clearcuts, since they are too small to lend themselves as habitat. Also the animal species which live in and around lakes and rivers are severely affected every

time when clearcuts reach down to the waters edge. Beaver, muskrat and otter regularly leave watercourses with clearcut shores.

The question arises: How long will the damage to trapping last?

The answers show fair concensus. Trappers state that mixed growth of at least 30 years is necessary for sustained fur production. Preferred is mixed growth of much higher age (40 to 60 years) with some post burn area of young mixed growth. Obviously, after large scale clearcutting, regeneration is highly unlikely to ever mimic the naturally occurring regeneration processes. Also there is no desire by either the Timber Branch of the MNR, or the industry to let such a thing happen.

At any rate, the trappers are very pessimistic about ever being able to trap successfully in heavily logged areas again. For reasons that it takes too long - "I'll never live to see it grow back".

2. Regeneration Methods

The endeavour of the forest industry/MNR complex is to regrow the area in question preferably in evergreen monocultures. Much as the forests of the early times were turned into farm lands, the aim is now to turn cut areas into "silvicultural lands".

Most trappers would rather see regeneration left entirely to natural processes, (possibly after post slash prescribed burning). even if it does take longer for the forest to reestablish than after forest fires. At least this way a large percentage of deciduous growth would be assured.

Trappers are particularly upset with scarifying methods, especially when done by carving huge windrows of slash debris with bulldozers. This method is perceived as being more hostile toward wildlife than all other. Further criticism is levelled against seeding evergreens in shoreline cuts, and finally, against the use of herbicides. Several trappers see even the continuous suppression of bushfires as a detrimental practice., since it, together with modern regeneration methods, will ultimately lead to a lack of hardwoods. Herbicides, by the way, were mentioned repeatedly and many trappers (Savant Lake and Osnaburgh House) were upset about its use, even if only along roadsides and hydro corridors. It may be mentioned, that there are no studies known to us which establish the spraying programs as being harmless to furbearing animals or their foodchain. Considering however that the bottom end of the food chain of furbearers consists in most cases of broad leaf plants, which, in the case of herbicide spraying, are the very target of the programs, it can be taken as proven that spray programs are detrimental to furbearer ecology.

3. Logging Roads

Highways and roads are another problem. Though some major roads are not seen as severe, trappers are against their traplines being carved up by a dense network of these. Some people (government employees and politicians) have said, that these roads are among other things intended to: "create access for trappers".

How very thoughtful and benevolent! Rather: "It's like a slap in the face!" - we don't know of any road which was built with the trappers' well-being in mind!

Problems caused by roads are manyfold. Many reasons for hard feelings by trappers are known!

- disturbance of habitat by logging. Disturbance of animals and their breeding habits due to noise and crowding by people. Interference and destruction of the trappers installations and equipment by the public, also very frequent cases of poaching and furbearer destruction, particularly by hunters.
- roads dissecting important trails and portages making a number of these useless. Roads often disturb the animal's travel patterns, making trapping more difficult.
- road kills. This, in addition to poaching, can lead to depletion of some species below a level of population that will allow any take on the part of the trapper.

Lumber camps and garbage dumps: Dumps are a problem in that they attract with certainty all the wolves and most foxes and bears from surrounding areas. Depending on the location of the dumps, several trappers may effectively lack these furbearers through fall and winter. Also poaching by company employees is frequent around logging camps and dumps.

4. Can Logging Methods be Improved?

The answer is yes!

Books should be written about this subject. When we briefly tackle it here despite the odds, then we do it to point out that we are not only aware of the problem but also of some of the solutions, obvious or less obvious they might be.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

To lower the severity of impact which logging has on trapping in this area:-

- Trails and Portages: Should have a cut reserve of 50 meters in form of a corridor running the entire length of it. Where crossed by roads these must be equipped with on/off ramps, as roadbed is usually elevated, often very steeply. Any debris, treetops etc. to be cleared off of trails (usually at roadcrossings).

- Cabins: Should be left in a reserve to be determined on a case basis. Minimum of at least 2 square km on base camp, 1/4 square km for line cabins.
- Special Reserves: These would be created with status of sensitive areas. Their intent would be to soak up displaced animal populations from adjoining or surrounding clearcuts. These areas would have high habitat quality and most likely contain a fair amount of mature timber. It would not be crossed by ANY ROADS, but could incorporate one or two cabin reserves. This area would be identified and chosen by MNR wildlife staff with the cooperation of the trapper, or the Trappers' Council, or a senior trapper as advisor. Reserve status of area would be in effect until surrounding cut areas have been regenerated to a maturity as well as a quality which would again support normal wildlife populations.

Creation of such reserves would reduce the effect of what is happening now, that animal populations are displaced totally out of large areas, probably largely perishing in the process. The likely size of such areas would be between 10 and 15 square kilometers. They would more likely have irregular shapes, but not be long and narrow.

5. Shoreline Reserves

The **restriction** of cutting to some shorelines must be reviewed. It must then be extended to include all watercourses down to stream size.

This recommendation has virtually total trapper backing (is also favoured by most of the outdoor public and by tourist outfitters).

Cutting to shores of watercourses would then become the exception. Cutting plans would not be authorized without public and trapper input. Shoreline cuts (in exception to the rule) would then be regenerated with intent to create "beaver food plantations" wherever this would be sensible. Trappers might be given contracts to do the planting with aspen, etc. Again shore cuts would remain the exception with intent to partially offset the adverse effect of forest fire prevention. Such "beaver food" areas would be 200 meters deep.

Because of well known erosion and regeneration problems, shoreline cuts must simply NOT be allowed in:

- low, marginal spruce swamps
- on any steep or
- shallow soil
- or bedrock.

6. Small Lakes and Streams

This has never been considered in the past. We want to point out that small lakes and streams should not be cut to the waters edge at all, to warrant protection of their fragile aquatic environment.

These water courses are an important breeding ground for mink, otter,

beaver and muskrat, as well as containing their entire food chain.

Any cutting to these shores could have all or some of the following effects:

- lack of shelter; waters become unsuitable habitat when windblown.
- lack of trees for beaver; around these waters food trees are most often mixed in with evergreens.
- flooding; extensive cutting around these waters can result in flash floods later, in some cases breaking beaver dams, which destroy the aquatic environment because of lowered water tables.
- silting together with flooding, a known problem detrimental to shallow water habitat.

7. Depth of No-Cut Shore Reserves

The depth of a protective belt should not be of an arbitrarily set distance. Rather, certain forest stands, site, geological and estetrical criteria should be used as a guide. We have worked on this problem and can come up with a pattern of cutting which considers the specific nature of shoreline ecology, however it is too detailed to include here.

We write this mostly from the trappers viewpoint. Nevertheless since the trapper endevours to fight for an intact natural environment, he is an ally of anyone who favours the multiple land use concept, which the forest industry so brazenly ignores. For after "harvesting" an area there is little left for any other land use but mining. How in

the world can the industry claim to promote multiple land use?

Our concern is not limited to individual trappers, rather we see trapping as a continuously occurring occupation with a slow flow of trapline occupants using each trapline area. Even traplines that are not currently being occupied or used should receive the same general concern as those for which the individual may currently put up some struggle.

8. Reimbursement and Compensation

Whenever todays forest operations advance the trapper suffers.

As explained before, areas denuded by clearcut logging cease to be habitat and to produce furbearers. Small strips or blocks of forest left for this purpose are not large enough to constitute dwelling habitat for most furbearers, and can therefore, in effect, be added to the clearcuts. The trapper, if he has worked the areas in the past will have invested time, money and physical health in constructing and maintaining such items as: trails, portages, cabins, caches and cubbies. In most instances these are being obliterated by the logging operation with the exception of cabins, usually left in a more or less picturesque "grove setting". But even if all of these installations were left untouched they might still be considered a loss by the trappers when the area serviced by them could no longer produce fur income.

Trappers feel very strongly about this loss. Logging of their traplines is especially traumatic in cases where trappers have worked the area for an extended period, even for most of a lifetime. In the case of older trappers some of these stated that they would not consider a move even if given the choice to relocate. The loss in this case is not only one which hurts economically and psychologically, another angle has to be looked at:

A large part of the trapper's experience and effectiveness is based on his strong familiarity with his area. This effectiveness would be lost after relocation. Also in later years the person may lack the physical ability to carry out the demanding task of again building trails and cabins, which he created earlier in life with a lifetime of trapping in mind.

Trappers when displaced in this way would be prone to become less selfsufficient, particularly when other work experience is lacking. This is increasingly more probable as logging advances farther north and more distant from towns in which trappers might have found supplementary employment. It is safe to say that numbers of pelts produced from areas logged will decrease rapidly and that revenue lost will have to be replaced in some other way.

It has been suggested by both MNR personnel as well as logging industry

contacts that trappers thus routed might easily pick up logging jobs. Though adding insult to injury this choice is sometimes taken. Nevertheless, speaking with local areas in mind, logging is still a "boom and bust" industry, only "cropping up" for a period of 10 or 20 years in a century. The effects left behind to hopefully heal with time, there is, nevertheless, no more employment for a century, while trapping is, or could have been continuous.

As most trappers have stated from experience, a larger percentage of semimature to aged mixed growth of forest, interspersed with after-fire-young-growth, is essential for good trapping.

Silviculture as carried out today is hostile to trapping in that:

- a) it creates very large areas with no amount of forest biome remaining
- b) it endeavours to re-create a commercial forest of pure evergreen monocultures in which tending, spraying etc. is carried out.
- c) the time it takes to regrow a natural healthy forest on clearcuts to the point and time when it again becomes productive fur bearer habitat may be 30 years or longer in our area - too long for the individual trapper to wait for.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That a scheme be developed by a joint committee, which would deal with

compensation for trappers who are hurt or displaced by logging or other developments. This committee might consist for instance, of delegates from the following sources:

Resource industry in question

Indian Affairs

Ministry of Natural Resources

Ministry of Northern Affairs

Canada Manpower

Area Trappers Council

Regional Trappers Council

Ministry of Social Services

Legal Aid

Environmental Law Association

9. Alternate Ways

The improvements mentioned so far are improvements with environmental concerns in mind. They all, in some way, restrict the logging industry. But then, this is exactly what is necessary. Environmental concerns MUST rate higher than economical ones. The world is increasingly waking up to this fact, often to face a nightmare as being a sobering reality!

Cutting out the waste may be one way to improve logging industry's long term economics. It is no secret, that between 10% and 50% of

the fibre available in a stand of timber, is left behind to decay. While some of this is a result of over brutal technology used, another portion of it is wasted, because "it is currently not marketable" or "it costs more to haul to the mill than it is worth". Sometimes you even hear: "In nature these trees would die and rot anyway." (all quotes by logging industry.)

Inexcusable excuses! Technology already exists in Europe and Asia to turn nearly any specie of wood and even grasses (!) into suitable papers from "craft" to "fine"!

Technology is available which involves the use of synthetic microfibres and/or resin binders, coatings etc. to create just the kind of paper desired. What kind of research is currently done by either government institutes or by the pulp and paper industry to translate some of this technology on to the Canadian scene?

Select Cutting is hardly mentioned nowadays. To think that only 40 or 50 years back this was accepted practice! The following are the arguments used against select cutting:

- "degradation of genetic stock." (MNR Forester) - Highly unlikely, if proper methods are used. Select cutting has been done in Europe for centuries, with no such negative effect.
- "currently no technology available" (Great Lakes Forester) - Nonsense! Not only have horses been in existence for some time, but we point

to "tree draggers" used in some European countries in conjunction with "thinning". Similar machinery could easily be designed here.

- "Not economical" (Great Lakes Foreman) - Not really true!

Also, no longer can modern society afford waste just because it may be more economical to waste!

Currently there is a trial project in Northwestern Ontario involving the use of horses for select cutting. More power to them! Perhaps we see here a reversal of the trend to put men out of work by using larger and larger machinery.

An example of select cutting: A frequently found type of forest stand consists of mature Jack Pine growth (80 to 100 years old) with a dense understory mostly of spruce (20 to 35 years old). The ratio of jack pines to spruce may be one to ten or one to fifteen. If this stand is clearcut, virtually all the spruce growth is knocked over in the process of getting out the few jack pines. Select cutting here would leave the understory intact enough to eliminate the need for regeneration, at least for this sequence. Horses, winches or small tractors could be used to extract these mature pines to a main skidway. Holes created by the falling pine would be acceptable, as these would later be caused by naturally falling trees anyway. These holes could also be replanted by hand if so desired.

S E C T I O N I I I

T R A P P I N G A N D
T H E G E N E R A L P U B L I C



SECTION III

TRAPPING AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

A. ANTI TRAPPING GROUPS

The general public in Northwestern Ontario communities is outdoor oriented and has very little objection to trapping. There is hardly a long time resident who has not had a past family member who, at some time or other, trapped. Many of todays residents still have acquaintances, friends or relatives who trap. In the case of Sioux Lookout, for instance, there is probably no one who doesn't know a trapper personally. Trapping up here has been for that reason, a generally accepted trade and is under no critique by northern residents.

The same cannot be said for Southern Ontario. We know about strong lobbies in southern population centres which are, for one reason or another, opposed to trapping. We will try to dissect this movement by their different schools of opinion. We will also state what we have to say about their charges.

1. First, there are those who oppose trapping because they believe it to be a threat to the survival of species. Obviously these people are "conservationists". Amazingly, all trappers see themselves also as "conservationists". None want to have any part in the elimination of species, even from their trapping areas. We can be friends with these people. Some education

might rectify the problem. Several serious conservation groups are not opposed to trapping, rather they endorse it.

2. Another opinion does not allow cruel treatment of animals and is opposed to trapping, not in principle, but in the way this is carried out. Although it is not easy to establish what constitutes cruelty, many trappers have, over the years, tried to modify their trapping methods in order to satisfy their own doubts as well as those of others. Out of this have grown certain "trapping ethics", which still in infancy, nevertheless continue to grow. Trapping technology is almost certain to change in the future, until grounds for the charges of "cruel trapping" can be all but eliminated. Given proper government support (e.g. changeover from leghold to good killer traps) this change of technology could be more rapid.
3. According to this diverse philosophy of non-violence several or all of the following are highly objectionable:
 - the killing of any animal life
 - the killing of vertebrate animals
 - the use of any animal products
 - the use of animal products for reasons of vanity, or for which animals have to be killed in order to acquire these
 - any of the above when wild animals are involved rather than domestic.
 - cruelty against animal life

4. The people who fall into this category are the most harmful to us, as well as the most difficult to deal with. They object to trapping so they can campaign, protest, write letters, join groups, etc. For the most part they know nothing about trapping, and really don't care to take the time to learn. Their arguments are illogical, non-factual and emotional. A meaningful dialog with a member of this group is next to impossible. Yet they are extremely vocal, and create much adverse publicity (mostly misinformation).

Excepting Group 4, we cannot possibly quarrel with these variations of this school of thought. It is entirely the choice of people to feel this way and conduct themselves in this way. We must respect it, in particular as strong spiritual conotation is involved here. However, we the trappers, would not accept being legislated against on account of the above philosophies.

Trappers see furbearing animals not simply as a resource to be exploited, but generally have a fondness for these very animals and they feel a certain moderate removal of these animals for economic purposes to be environmentally acceptable.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that it be recognized that the trapping trade endeavours to

trap in a way that is largely acceptable to the public, by using increasingly more humane trapping technology and by making sure that no furbearing animal will become endangered.

- that in the context of the above statements - the government continue to be favourable to such an environmentally low impact industry to further educate the public to this effect, to continue to help manage furbearers in a conservative way and to aid this industry in the changeover to a more humane trapping technology.

S E C T I O N I V

T R A P P E R S A R E O R G A N I Z I N G



SECTION IV

TRAPPERS ARE ORGANIZING

In this part of Ontario the drawing together of trappers to form interest groups is for the most part a rather new occurrence. Trappers previously had little or no contact with each other, and if they did it was just as likely the cause of a border conflict as a friendly exchange. The setting up of registered traplines in Ontario between the years of 1938 and 1948 was clearly one prerequisite for the non-Indian trappers getting along with each other. For Indian trappers, trapline borders were traditionally not a severe issue although this is changing fast.

Although aware of this, this author was nevertheless reinforced in this awareness when during our recent survey an Indian trapper outlined "his" trapping area as running over parts of 4 different traplines, (belonging to 3 treaty trappers and one nontreaty trapper).

This trend or custom has changed in the case of treaty trappers living in larger communities, who show the same concern for territorial integrity as all other trappers.

We were explaining that, for white trappers, the trapline system was a very important condition for establishing successful councils. This is true in more ways than one.

Territorial squabbles no longer keep trappers from becoming friends. A more relaxed attitude could develop. Territorial loyalty led to a sense of belonging. The idea of "managing a trapline" caught on. Professional pride then led to the forming of a common school of thought among trappers. However all these were not enough. After the MNR reorganization in 1972, trappers suddenly noticed a new trend: The enforcement of already existing regulations that had previously not been enforced began, as well as the advent of new regulations. Councils began to spring up all over Ontario. Even if the official reasons for forming of councils were perhaps perceived differently, the gut level reasons were "to band together against whatever forces try to make it tough for us."

This process goes on, and if anything is stepped up. In some areas all that is needed is willing leadership to have yet another council fall in place.

Many councils in the Southern areas were apparently formed through prodding of the OTA. This cannot be said for Northern Ontario, where many councils were formed primarily by local endeavour. Yet for these parts of Ontario the forming of councils has just begun. There is room for virtually dozens of councils, particularly in the far northern communities.

The purpose of councils can be compared to that of any other trade or professional association, or union. The following points of reference are not in any particular order:

- to serve as a frame for trade fellowship
- to further the trade in general
- to educate and gain insight
- to generate professional ethic that is both compatible with the trade and accepted with the general public
- to deal with government agencies
- to stabilize the economical interests
- to represent the membership
- to represent individual members
- to represent trappers in general
- to further area trapping concerns
- to further the trapping concerns in general
- to stand together against any interference
- to solve grievances and problems together
- to take action

WHY NOT BEFORE?

The older generation of trappers, most of these now retired or passed away, were a more independent breed. Space was no problem in their day. Government interference was kept to a minimum. Councils in those days were both less necessary and impractical.

WHY NOW?

Severe increase of government interference and restrictions.

Increase of regulations and enforcement. Severe increase of encroachment by large resource extraction, roads, tourism, various other government and industry projects. Environmental concern both by trappers and against trappers (anti-trapping groups). Increasing economic difficulties.

Trappers in the survey all indicated their almost total satisfaction with the OTA fur sales service. However, most felt that the OTA representation in trapper affairs or in the lawmaking process did not provide good representation for this area.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- that it be recognized that trapper groups (councils) represent large numbers of trappers and that all issues relating to trapping be decided with input from the area councils rather than by exclusive involvement of the OTA in the decision making process.
- that councils be recognized as representing the area trappers for both decision making in relation to trapping industry planning as well as that they be consulted on any other resource extraction and development planning that might affect this industry.



SIOUX LOOKOUT TRAPPERS COUNCIL

ORAL BRIEF PRESENTED TO THE RCNE ON NOVEMBER 24, 1982

Mr. Commissioner, we are presenting this oral submission to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment on behalf of approximately 65 North of 50° area trappers.

The Sioux Lookout Trappers Council is currently completing a survey and research project in which trappers from as far west as Richan, as far north as Pickle Lake, and as far east as Armstrong were interviewed. This project is being funded by the Royal Commission for which we are all exceedingly grateful. In today's submission we will try to be rather brief and we will repeatedly point to our upcomming main report, in which many topics relating to the Commission's SUBJECT OF ENQUIRY and relating to trapping and trappers, are dealt with.

During the survey, the authors felt a very strong message of the trapper's growing loyalty toward their common cause. Opinions and data received in this survey varied so little that the result was almost total concensus among those queried, with the exception of a very few topics. Even some of the field experiences, related by the trappers to expand a point, were similar. This was the first time that any trappers had gone around contacting such a large number of colleagues in such a wide ranging area, being able to raise gut-level issues and soliciting their opinions.

The attempts by the surveyor were generally well received, and the cooperation was great.

The Sioux Lookout Trappers Council was formed in 1977, when several local trappers felt that it was no longer possible for individuals to deal effectively with bureaucracies, companies, and organizations. Since then, the council has increased in strength and numbers, and now stands as a strong local professional association. Therefore it is interesting to note, that many of the specific, and all of the general issues which caused the council to be formed in the first place remain unresolved.

The specific problems which are being experienced by trappers are being addressed in the written report to the Commission. In addition to identifying problems, the brief draws conclusions and puts forth numerous recommendations.

The very existence of the Trappers Council is amazing. Most rappers tend to be solitary and individualistic by nature, and joining groups or organizations somehow goes against their grain. Yet just as the timid muskrat will become vicious when cornered, trappers will band together when they percieve a threat to their profession, in fact, to their way of life!

During the past few years, we have felt more and more pressure from groups wishing to restrict our activities, or to alter the environment to the point where it is no longer suitable habitat for fur-bearing

animals.

We are very much affected by the activities of the forest industries, as they destroy large tracts of prime fur-bearer habitat. Mining, the building of roads, and in general, the developing of the forest country, also have a detrimental effect on habitat. Vocal anti-trapping groups manage to lobby the vulnerable politicians, and get legislation passed which increases the already difficult existence of trapping. The Ministry of Natural Resources, which is forced to bow to the wishes of these groups, with increasingly restrictive trapping policies, is not of much help to us. Thus, the trapper feels caught between the forces which he is unable to deal with, by himself, nor to understand.

Trappers are by necessity environmentalists. The animals which we catch require a certain type of environment to thrive. If that environment is altered by cutting, mining, pollution, or even roads, it can render an area worthless for fur habitat for years to come. Left to ourselves, we could leave the habitat in an unaltered state, and control our own catch levels. Traplines are fixed geographical areas. If a trapper takes too many animals in one season, and has a poor catch the next season, he will be the one who suffers. He cannot pack up and find another area to exploit, as do other resource extractors.

He must learn to manage the area for which he is licenced on a perpetual yield basis, or he will not survive long as a trapper. This is a very difficult task when faced with the situation where habitat disruption is occurring.

It is public knowledge that the practices of the major extraction enterprises, the forest industry being the most dominant in our area, leave much to be desired. We quote "Forest management must be taken seriously, because unlike a bad haircut which grows out in a few weeks, the scars left by poor forest management will be visible for generations to come".

It is known to the authors that the very reason for the founding of this commission has to do with the public outcry against reckless exploitation of this north country, both in the past and in the future.

Our report will deal specifically with the effects of logging and related activities on trapping and includes our recommendations, which if implemented, would minimize the impact on the natural environment, as well as on trapping, as an industry and a way of life!

It is at times difficult for trappers, who are expected to manage their resource so carefully, to watch the "hit and run" approach to resource extraction, that is used by some timber and mining companies. Likewise, it is difficult for trappers to manage their resource when confronted by regulations which seem to make little practical sense.

The Sioux Lookout Trappers Council is a professional organization which attempts to unify the voices of many, and to present strong, sane, and logical arguments to convince all parties concerned in any way with the environment; to adopt a careful, well thought out approach

to resources. We favour the multi-use concept, which today gets a great deal of lip-service, but not so much action.

We are all too well aware of the economics of resource extraction. This perhaps is the major gulf which separates us from the other resource users. People extract resources to make money - timber, minerals, fish and fur are sold, hopefully to earn a profit for the company or the individual involved. However, earning large sums of money is not part of the average trappers existence. In fact, an individual who is interested primarily in money will not last long as a trapper. The days are long, the work hard, and the major rewards are actually non-monetary. And so when we enter into dialogue with others such as logging companies, we find that we are speaking different languages. One speaks the language of profits, the other the language of stewardship.

We do not seem to be able to find a translator. If there is to be any dialogue it will be necessary for the other resource users to understand stewardship, since it is unlikely that trappers will suddenly become obsessed with profits.

We like to give you, Mr. Commissioner, a preview of some other issues, that we will discuss in our main report. We will deal with the following subjects... trapping regulations, furbearer seasons and quotas, how trap lines are allocated and transferred, what steps the government

could take to assist this industry, how trappers view parks, the anti-trapping movement, economics of trapping, how trappers relate to the MNR, and trappers councils.

There will be appendices to the report dealing with fur-bearer population dynamics, the trapping homestead, and alternate resource extraction methods.*

The following is an example of how the trappers do not have input into even mildly important decision-making inside MNR and how this administration by the Ministry is largely arbitrary, often not with resource management but rather with law enforcement in mind.

The Ministry of Natural Resources, of course, is the primary government agency, with which the trapper must deal. It has control of almost every aspect of a trappers life while he is on the trapline. Like many large bureaucracies, the Ministry has fallen into the trap of allowing the means to become the end. Techniques of management and ease of enforcement have become more important than the resource itself.

Resource managers should see themselves as advocates for resource users. If a request for change makes sense in a given situation but

* these had been planned to be included in the report but were deleted by the editing committee. Some of this material may follow independent of this report.

will create management or enforcement problems, then the request should be supported anyway. We quote "Ease of enforcement cannot override sensible management".

Here is one specific example to illustrate the point of arbitrary decisions. The Ministry uses the main line of the Canadian National Railroad as dividing line for trapping seasons. South of this line the season for mink ends on December 31st. North of this line the mink season ends on January 31st. So we have two trappers, whose lines adjoin, and one has the advantage of an extra full month of mink trapping, even though both experience the same climatic conditions. Ministry officials admit that the line was originally established for convenience, and in no way reflects the logical data. The trapper whose line is south of the tracks has requested that the line be changed. After all, the mink on his side are just as prime in January as are those of his neighbor. But the line and the seasons remain because quote "We have to draw the line somewhere." These are not proper answers. They are only excuses!

We do not concede the necessity of having a line at all. In all areas we favour a more flexible, decentralized, decision making process, which gives maximum freedom and responsibility to the trapper himself. The trapper knows his ground, his animals and the economics of his industry. If he feels that he can get sufficient return for his January caught mink, then he should be allowed to trap mink in January. We favour this

approach in all situations where we are restricted by regulations and policies which are not based on sound biological data.

Lets go back to the CN main line. Assume that there is a requirement for a line. Surely the line has no biological data to justify it. If the Ministry feels the need to have different seasons in different areas, then the regulations should reflect biological data and perhaps be set up as a series of one week gradations moving north to south.

"But that would be impossible to manage. And enforcement a nightmare." comes the cry from MNR.

It may be more difficult to enforce, but it would be more logical rather than arbitrary, and again we quote "Ease of enforcement cannot override sensible management." It is important that MNR listen to trappers even on a district or local level.

Here in Sioux Lookout we enjoy a steadily improving rapport with the local district office staff. However much improvement is still needed and it is the wish of most trappers for such an improved relationship. Many of the grievances by trappers, by the way, have nothing to do with the local representatives of the MNR, but are directed against this bureaucratic monster as a whole.

Mr. Commissioner, because of an ever shrinking world, the pressure is

escalating to exploit the materials which this northland can provide. In today's Canadian society, material values seem to be overridingly in the lead. This is why, it seems that any ideal values are down-played as of secondary importance. Now, when we look at the area North of 50° as being competed for by materialists as well as idealistic interests, guess who loses out!

As we have hinted earlier, trappers are content with a lower income and lower hourly return than the average Ontarian. Trappers are also very conservative, and endeavour to keep the environment intact. Incidentally, an intact or only modestly exploited environment is much more acceptable to most Ontarians. Quote "It is the scale of the exploitation that makes the difference." A North that is only modestly exploited could well last for hundreds of years to come. It is our wish, Mr. Commissioner, that the North be made use of in such careful and modest manner, that the integrity of its natural environment be retained. We would wish that the reckless expansion of large industry into new areas be halted until careful study would result in newer, more conservative methods of extraction. We would also wish that ideal values be considered equal to material ones. The result of such a new course could be that the area North of 50° would not be regarded solely as a "resource frontier" to be exploited by greedy interests of large corporations and their following, but could truly be used as a home to many Ontarians of

the future and serve the interests of, among others, tourists, fishermen, both commercial and sport, hunters, campers, canoeists, and naturalists. And we as trappers feel we would fit into such a scheme as we have for centuries.

Thank you.



Box 893
Sioux Lookout, Ont.

Appendix "B"

12 July 1982

Regional Director
Ministry of Natural Resources
Box 5160
808 Robertson St.,
Kenora, Ontario P9N 3X9

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a response to the West Patricia Land Use Plan by the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council. We sincerely hope that our request for sane, sensitive forest management policy is well received by your office.

We would like to register our disappointment with the MNR decision to call for all input by 16 July 1982 and then to issue the final plan without any further input or discussion. We feel that discussion prior to adopting the final plan is the only meaningful way to have public input. It is a shame that having invested thousands of dollars and thousands of man hours getting public input, no attempt is made to get public reaction before adopting the final draft. This is a serious defect in the West Patricia exercise.

Sincerely,

BRUCE L. SMITH
for the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council

A RESPONSE BY THE SIOUX LOOKOUT TRAPPERS COUNCIL TO THE MINISTRY
OF NATURAL RESOURCES DOCUMENT - WEST PATRICIA LAND USE PLAN -
PROPOSED POLICY AND OPTIONAL PLANS -

The members of the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council feel strongly that the most pressing issue which we must address is the preservation of habitat. All of the comments and opinions which follow are derived from a few very basic facts.

1. We are trappers, and many of us earn most of our yearly income as trappers.
2. In order for a trapper to earn money he must catch animals.
3. In order for animals to exist they must have proper habitat.
4. Clear cut forest is not proper habitat for fur-bearing animals.

Since the main thrust of our brief is control of logging and pulp cutting, one might assume that we are opposed to them. This is not the case. We recognize the economic contribution which the forest product industry makes to the West Patricia area. We feel, however, that a moderating voice is required to shout above the noise of skidder and chainsaw and ask for a moment of quiet thought, for a moment to consider the needs of those who are not directly tied to the forest product industry. We do not wish to stop the wheels of progress, only to ask that a more sane approach be taken toward forest management....that the forest be managed for all of us, and not just to maximize the fibre and lumber harvests of the industry.

Good trappers are good resource managers. A trapper who high-grades or over harvests one year will suffer the next. Because our traplines are fixed in size, we must search out the yield level which can be sustained and not exceed that level. This does not seem to be a requirement of the forest product industry. No one knows what sustained yield means in terms of area and length of time required to regrow merchantable timber in our climate and geographic area. We only know that when men and machines arrive to harvest fibre or logs, they don't show much concern for future harvests.

If we approached our traplines like the companies approach the bush, with dollar signs in our eyes, there wouldn't be many of us still in the business. However, the companies must see dollar signs - that is what the stockholders and boards of directors want, and that is how the performance of senior management is judged -- PROFITS. And sadly enough, maximum profits and sane, sensitive forest management don't seem to mix.

That is why the Ministry of Natural Resources is given the mandate of ensuring that our forest resource is managed for all user groups. And that is why the Sioux Lookout Trappers Council has taken this opportunity to make its' concerns known to the Ministry.

As a group, we favour option A or B. Our main concern is habitat, and it seems to us that the best chance we have to save habitat from the chainsaw is to designate it as parkland. (Although we do have other suggestions.) We feel that the percentages of target achievement for the forest product industry is still healthy under options A and B. Forests are exceptionally fragile in our northern environment, and we urge extreme caution in the setting of timber harvest policy. Unlike a poor haircut which is unnoticeable in a week or so, any forest management policy decision is visible for decades.

The following are our recommendations and comments:

1. Limit the maximum size of clear-cuts to guarantee that sufficient wildlife habitat remains.
2. Leave sufficient shoreline reserves around all bodies of water, not just those used by tourists.
3. Leave a reserve around trappers cabins, trails and portages.
4. Leave selected areas of undisturbed land wherever possible - Does an area have to be a park to be left alone? How about leaving high-density fur producing areas?
5. Trapping is a business - trappers should be consulted on the local level when decisions are made which affect their livelihood.
6. Trapping is a way of life - and while this may seem an intangible comment, those who make the decisions should be aware that trapping is one of the last places of refuge for a man or woman who requires solitude, hard work, living and working close to nature, with as much autonomy as can be enjoyed in the 20th century.

7. Trapping rights should be guaranteed in all cases where a new park is being established.
8. We fully support Options A and B which promote the designation of the maximum amount of park land. This corresponds with our belief that forest management should serve all user groups and avoid mono-culture.
9. In-pit should not cease on 16 July 1982 -- we should have an opportunity to comment on the final draft before it is adopted.
You've gone this far - why quit now?

Your file:

P.O. Box 5160
Kenora, Ontario
P9N 5X9

Our file:

July 27, 1982

Mr. Bruce L. Smith
Sioux Lookout Trappers Council
Box 693
Sioux Lookout, Ontario

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 12, 1982 regarding the West Patricia Land Use Plan.

With respect to your comments concerning the time available for public input, let me say that I do appreciate and understand your concern. However, it is this Ministry's desire to have district land use plans completed by December 31, 1982 in order to establish the framework and direction for those programs for which we are responsible.

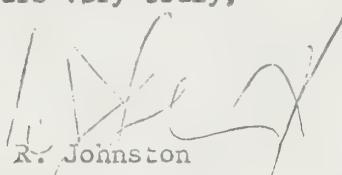
There is no doubt that revisions will be required beyond the December 31, 1982 date as the plan is further refined and modified. For this reason a detailed plan review process will be an integral component of all district land use plans in the province. In addition to detailing how day to day revisions will be handled, the review process will also contain specific procedures for major formal reviews on a regular 5 year basis. As you can see therefore, any problems that remain or develop after December 31, 1982 can and will be addressed through this review and amending procedure.

With respect to your comments and recommendations regarding the impact of timber harvesting on traplines, I would like to advise that you have provided us with a very thoughtful and reasoned brief. I have taken the liberty of forwarding it on to the District Managers involved in the West Patricia Land Plan and I can assure you that your council's views and recommendations will receive very careful consideration and that they will assist the districts in the preparation of the final land use plan.

Page 2
July 27, 1982
Mr. Bruce L. Smith

In closing, I would like to thank you and your council for providing us with your views and concerns.

Yours very truly,



D. R. Johnston
Regional Director
Northwestern Region, Kenora
(807) 468-3111

G. G. Pyzer/mc

cc: District Manager - Sioux Lookout
- Red Lake
- Geraldton

6. Ontario Conservation Officers should exercise leniency when dealing with treaty Indians who appear to have violated the Fisheries Act and/or the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the regulations made under these statutes by taking fish or migratory birds on "unoccupied Crown land" for their own "personal consumption" or possessing or transporting these fish or birds.
7. The taking, possessing, or transporting of fish or migratory birds for "personal consumption" does not include the taking, possessing, or transporting of fish or migratory birds for sale, purchase, or barter.
8. For the purposes of item #6 above, unoccupied Crown land includes all Crown (Ontario) land except Crown (Ontario) land that is within a:
 - (I) Provincial Park¹
 - (II) Crown Game Preserve
 - (III) King's Highway
 - (IV) Fish Sanctuary
 - (V) Safe distance from authorized lumber or mining operations while they are in progress.²
 - (VI) Safe distance from summer cottages or other structures or activities.²
9. All taking of fish for "personal consumption", as contemplated under item #6 above, except by angling in the open season, should be authorized before the fishing takes place by a permit issued under regulations provided for under the Fisheries Act and in accordance with the conditions of that permit.

Appendix "C"

GUIDELINES RE TREATY INDIANS AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE FISHERIES ACT, THE ONTARIO FISHERIES REGULATIONS AND THE MIGRATORY BIRDS CONVENTION ACT AND REGULATIONS

1. The Fisheries Act and the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the regulations made under these statutes, supercede all Indian treaties in Ontario.
2. The Fisheries Act and the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the regulations made under these statutes, apply equally to treaty Indians and all other persons.
3. Ontario Conservation Officers are clearly authorized, when acting in their capacity as officers under the Fisheries Act and/or the Migratory Birds Convention Act, to enter any Indian Reserve in Ontario to enforce the Fisheries Act and/or the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the regulations made under these statutes in relation to both treaty Indians and all other persons.
4. It is the policy of the Ministry of Natural Resources that Ontario Conservation Officers will not enter an Indian Reserve in Ontario to enforce the Fisheries Act and/or the Migratory Birds Convention Act and the regulations made under these statutes without the agreement of the Chief or the approval of the Minister of Natural Resources.

Note:

For the purposes of this section, enforcement does not include delivery of summons, serving of warrants or other similar routine matters. Thus, it is intended that Ontario Conservation Officers may enter Indian Reserves to deliver summons, serve warrants, or for other similar routine matters at their discretion.

5. It is the intention of the Ministry of Natural Resources that Ontario Conservation Officers will endeavour to establish a working relationship with each Chief and Band Council that will allow those officers to enter Indian Reserves in Ontario for enforcement purposes to meet mutual fish and wildlife conservation objectives.

10. Any permit to be issued as contemplated under item #9 above should be issued only after effective communication with the Band Council concerning the conditions of such a permit.

1 It is the policy of the Ministry of Natural Resources that:

- (i) Polar Bear Provincial Park
- (ii) Winisk River Provincial Park
- (iii) Areas where and at times when hunting and fishing is permitted in other Provincial Parks under The Game and Fish Act

will be treated as unoccupied Crown (Ontario) land for the purposes of this guideline.

2 Section 19 of The Game and Fish Act (careless hunting) is applicable in all circumstances.

GENERAL GUIDELINES RE TREATY INDIANS AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE GAME
AND FISH ACT

1. The hunting and fishing rights provided by each Treaty are available to the Indians who have rights under it only within the area covered by that Treaty.
2. Treaties which are silent on specific hunting and fishing rights are deemed not to have granted hunting and fishing rights.
3. The Game and Fish Act applies to all Indians who have not signed a Treaty.
4. The Game and Fish Act applies to all Indians in areas where there is no Treaty.
5. The hunting and fishing rights granted by the Treaties commonly known as Treaties #3, #5, #9 and the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties, supercede certain sections of The Game and Fish Act (See more specific Guidelines).
6. The Game and Fish Act does not apply to treaty Indians on their own "reserve" as defined under the Indian Act.
7. Ontario Conservation Officers have legal authority to enter any Indian Reserve in Ontario to enforce the provisions of The Game and Fish Act against all persons other than treaty Indians who have rights under the Treaty concerned.
8. It is the policy of the Ministry of Natural Resources that Ontario Conservation Officers will not enter an Indian Reserve for enforcement purposes without the agreement of the Chief or the approval of the Minister of Natural Resources.

Note:

For the purposes of this section, enforcement does not include delivery of summons, serving of warrants or other similar routine matters. Thus, it is intended that Ontario Conservation Officers may enter Indian Reserves to deliver summons, serve warrants, or for other similar routine matters at their discretion.

GUIDELINES RE TREATY #3, TREATY #5, AND TREATY #9 AND THE ENFORCEMENT
OF THE GAME AND FISH ACT

1. These guidelines are in addition to the general guidelines re Treaty Indians and are applicable to all Treaty Indians who have rights under Treaty #3 (Northwest Angle Treaty), Treaty #5 (Berens River and Norway House Treaty), or Treaty #9 (James Bay Treaty).
2. It is the opinion of the Ministry of Natural Resources that the following sections of The Game and Fish Act do not apply within the areas covered by Treaty #3, Treaty #5, or Treaty #9, to Indians who have hunting and fishing rights under Treaty #3, Treaty #5, or Treaty #9, "...saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes."¹
 - (i) Section 20(2) - use of a vehicle or vessel to chase wildlife subject to the Migratory Birds Convention Act
 - (ii) " 23² - night hunting
 - (iii) " 24² - raccoon hunting at night
 - (iv) " 28 - use of ferret
 - (v) " 35 - requirement of hunting licence
 - (vi) " 37 - licence under sixteen
 - (vii) " 42 - open season on game animals
 - (viii) " 43 - taking of game. Relates to Sec. 35
 - (ix) " 44² - taking game by contrivance except where unsafe means involved
 - (x) " 45² - swimming caribou, deer or moose
 - (xi) " 46 - hunting rabbits or squirrels
 - (xii) " 50 - licence to hunt game birds

9. It is the intention of the Ministry of Natural Resources that Ontario Conservation Officers will endeavour to establish a working relationship with each Chief and Band Council that will allow those officers to enter Indian Reserves in Ontario for enforcement purposes to meet mutual fish and wildlife conservation objectives.
10. Ontario Conservation Officers may lay charges against all persons, other than treaty Indians who have rights under the Treaty concerned, for violations of The Game and Fish Act which occurred on an Indian Reserve after such person or persons leave that Indian Reserve.
11. For the purposes of these guidelines the term "hunting" does not include "trapping".
12. All Treaty rights that are in conflict with The Game and Fish Act provide only for the taking, possessing, or transporting of wildlife by treaty Indians for their own personal consumption.
13. The taking, possessing, or transporting of wildlife for personal consumption does not include the taking, possessing or transporting of wildlife for sale, purchase or barter.

Ministry of Natural Resources
February 20, 1979

- (xiii) Section 51 - hunting birds, subject to the
Migratory Birds Convention Act
- (xiv) " 52² - taking game birds by contrivance
except where unsafe means are involved
- (xv) " 53² - hunting pheasant with a rifle
- (xvi) " 56 - taking of birds' eggs, subject to the
Migratory Birds Convention Act
- (xvii) " 69(3) - possession of fish, subject to the
Fisheries Act and regulations
- (xviii) " 71(1) - possession of fish nets, subject to the
Fisheries Act and regulations
- (xix) " 73 - waters set apart for propagation of frogs
- (xx) " 74 - seasons re bullfrogs
- (xxi) " 76 - licence for hunting deer, moose and caribou
with dogs
- (xxii) " 77(2) - use of a dog in hunting deer. Provision as
to a dog found running at large is applicable.
- (xxiii) " 78 - restricted use of dogs for hunting game
birds subject to the Migratory Birds
Convention Act
- (xxiv) " 80(2) - transportation of game

3. The hunting and fishing rights of Treaty Indians who have
hunting and fishing rights under Treaty #3, Treaty #5, or
Treaty #9 respectively, do not apply to "...such tracts as may
be required from time to time or taken up for settlement, mining,
lumbering, trading or other purposes...".¹ Thus, for the purposes
of the enforcement of The Game and Fish Act, it is the opinion of
the Ministry of Natural Resources that the hunting and fishing
rights of Treaty Indians do not apply to areas within Treaty #3,
Treaty #5, or Treaty #9 such as:

- (i) Privately owned land
- (ii) Safe distance from authorized lumber operations while they are in progress on land licenced from the Crown (Ontario)²
- (iii) Safe distance from summer cottages or other structures or mining operations or other activities on land leased from the Crown (Ontario)²
- (iv) Crown game preserves
- (v) Provincial Parks³
- (vi) King's Highways and all other highways as defined by The Highway Traffic Act

1 This quotation from Treaty #9 is very similar to the Analogous statement in Treaty #3 or Treaty #5.

2 Section 19 of The Game and Fish Act (careless hunting) is still applicable to all Treaty Indians at all times. Although it is specifically mentioned with respect to some sections, Section 19 of The Game and Fish Act applies throughout.

3 It is the policy of the Ministry of Natural Resources that, notwithstanding the limitations contained in these Treaties, the hunting and fishing privileges of Treaty Indians are extended to:

- (i) Polar Bear Provincial Park
- (ii) Winisk River Provincial Park
- (iii) Areas where and at times when hunting and fishing are permitted in other Provincial Parks under The Game and Fish Act.

REGULATION 415

under the Game and Fish Act



1. In this Regulation "registered trap-line area" means an area designated as a trap-line area in Regulation 436 of Revised Regulations of Ontario, 1980 R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 1

TRAPPER'S LICENCE

2.—(1) A licence to hunt or trap or attempt to trap fur-bearing animals shall be in Form 1

(2) The fee for a licence in Form 1 is,

(a) \$5 for that part of Ontario that is south of the most northerly east-west line of the Canadian National Railway Company, and

(b) \$1 for that part of Ontario that is north of that line. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 2(1), 2.

(3) A licence in Form 1 is valid from the 1st day of September to and including the 31st day of August next following O. Reg. 203/82, s. 1.

3.—(1) No licence in Form 1 shall be issued to an applicant therefor who has not previously been issued a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals under the regulations, unless his application is supported by the production at the time of his application of,

(a) a licence to hunt issued to him under the regulations, and

(b) a certificate issued to him at any time during the five years prior to his application by the district manager of an administrative district of the Ministry of Natural Resources certifying that he has successfully completed the course of instruction in fur harvest, fur management and conservation given by the Ministry or in the case of an applicant who has been permitted to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals without a licence under subsection 62 (7) of the Act, or a predecessor thereof, proof that he sealed or sold pelts of fur-bearing animals at any time during the five years immediately prior to the 1st day of July, 1982. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 3 (1); O. Reg. 203/82, s. 2 (1).

(2) No licence in Form 1 shall be issued to an applicant therefor who has previously been issued a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals under the regulations, unless his application is supported by the pro-

duction at the time of his application of a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals issued to him at any time during the five years immediately prior to his application O. Reg. 203/82, s. 2 (2)

(3) No licence in Form 1 shall be issued to an applicant therefor who has previously been issued a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals under the regulations, if the applicant has not held a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals under the regulations at any time during the five years immediately prior to his application, unless his application is supported by the production, at the time of his application of a certificate issued to him by the district manager of an administrative district of the Ministry of Natural Resources certifying that he has successfully completed the course of instruction in fur harvest, fur management and conservation given by the Ministry. O. Reg. 203/82, s. 2 (3)

4.—(1) The holder of a licence in Form 1 may hunt or trap or attempt to trap during the open season fur-bearing animals,

(a) on Crown lands in the registered trap-line area designated in his licence, or

(b) on Crown lands, other than those referred to in clause (a), described in his licence and on lands other than Crown lands described in his licence in respect of which he has a written permit from the owner thereof to hunt or trap or attempt to trap fur-bearing animals thereon

~~Notwithstanding subsection 1(a), the holder of a licence in Form 1 that designates more than one registered trap-line area and is valid when this subsection is read in conjunction with subsection 1(b), he may hunt or trap or attempt to trap fur-bearing animals on land in a registered trap-line area that is not designated in his licence.~~
203/82, s. 3, part.

(2) Where the holder of a licence in Form 1 is,

(a) an owner, or the holder of a written permit for the purpose from the owner, of land, or

(b) a purchaser or locatee, or the holder of a written permit for the purpose from the purchaser or locatee, under the *Public Lands Act*, of land,

within or adjacent to the registered trap-line area designated in the licence, he may hunt or trap or attempt to trap fur-bearing animals on that land. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 4 (2).

(2a) Notwithstanding subsection (1a), the holder of a licence in Form 1 that designates more than one registered trap-line area and is valid when this subsec-

tion comes into force may obtain a licence for the trap-line areas so designated. O Reg. 203/82, s. 3, part

(3) Except as provided in subsection (2), the holder of a licence in Form 1 shall not, under the authority of that licence, hunt or trap or attempt to trap on any area other than that designated or described in the licence. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 4 (3).

5. The holder of a licence in Form 1 may hunt or trap or attempt to trap fur-bearing animals during the open season in any part of the area described in the Schedule that is designated in his licence. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 5.

6. The holder of a licence in Form 1 shall, during the open season for hunting or trapping fur-bearing animals, take:

- (a) not more than the number of a species of fur-bearing animal fixed by his licence; and
- (b) not less than 75 per cent of the number of a species of fur-bearing animal fixed by his licence. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 6.

7.—(1) Where the holder of a licence in Form 1 is unable temporarily, through illness or other cause, to comply with section 6, he shall:

- (a) notify the district manager of the administrative district of the Ministry of Natural Resources in which he is licensed, and
- (b) nominate a person to trap on the registered trap-line in his stead.

(2) Where the person nominated is approved in writing by the district manager referred to in subsection (1), he shall have all the rights and be subject to the obligations of the holder of a licence in Form 1 until the holder of the licence resumes trapping on his registered trap-line area.

(3) The holder of a licence in Form 1 shall notify the district manager referred to in subsection (1) when he resumes trapping on his registered trap-line area. R.R.O. 1980, Reg. 415, s. 7.

7a. The holder of a licence in Form 1 may under the authority of that licence take black bear during the open season therefor from the area described in his licence. O Reg. 154/81, s. 1.

7b.—(1) A licence issued under subsection 62 (8) of the Act shall be in Form 1A and shall be issued without payment of a fee.

(2) A licence in Form 1A is valid from the 1st day of September to and including the 31st day of August next following.

(3) No licence in Form 1A shall be issued to an applicant therefor unless his application is supported by the production at the time of his application of,

(a) a licence to hunt or trap fur-bearing animals under the regulations issued to him at any time during the five years immediately prior to his application for a licence in Form 1A;

(b) proof that he sealed or sold pelts of fur-bearing animals at any time during the five years prior to the 1st day of July, 1982 taken under subsection 62 (7) of the Act, or a predecessor thereof;

(c) a licence in Form 1A previously issued to him at any time during the five years immediately prior to his application; or

(d) a certificate issued to him at any time during the five years immediately prior to his application for a licence in Form 1A by the district manager of an administrative district of the Ministry of Natural Resources certifying that he has successfully completed the course of instruction in fur harvest, fur management and conservation given by the Ministry. O Reg. 203/82, s. 4.

SEALING OF PELTS



(a) sealed by inserting through the eye hole or the nose a numbered seal with the letter "ONT" stamped thereon; or

(b) marked with a stamp provided by the Ministry for that purpose. O Reg. 203/82, s. 5.

MULTIPlicity OF LICENCES

9.—(1) No person shall hold more than one licence in Form 1 or 1A.

(2) No holder of a licence in Form 1 shall be the holder of a licence in Form 1A.

(3) Except with the written permission of the regional director of the administrative region of the Ministry of Natural Resources in which he is licensed, no holder of a licence in Form 3 or any member of his family residing with him shall be the holder of a licence in Form 1 or 1A.

(4) Except with the written permission of the regional director of the administrative region of the Ministry of Natural Resources in which he is licensed, no holder of a licence under the *Fur Farms Act* or any member of his family residing with him shall be the holder of a licence in Form 1, 1A or 3. O Reg. 203/82, s. 6.

POSSESSION OF PELTS

10.—(1) No person shall apply for or hold a licence issued under section 64 of the Act for a greater number of pelts than he has in his possession.



Ontario

Appendix "E-1"

Ministry of
Natural
Resources
P. O. Box 448
IGNACE, Ontario
POT 1TO
Telephone: 934-2233

Our file number

Your file number

RE: REGISTERED TRAPLINE AGREEMENT

The following are the requirements that must be met in order for you to maintain trapping privileges on trapline IG ____.

1. A minimum of 75% of the beaver quota (set by a fall house count) to be taken during the open season. Failure to meet this condition for two consecutive years will result in cancellation of your trapping privileges.
2. The trapping will be carried out under the authority of a licence valid for that line (Licence # ____).
3. A trapping cabin(s) may be constructed on location(s) approved by the District Office. The cabin(s) may be used for trapping purposes only and during the period two weeks prior to the open season to two weeks after the close of the trapping season. If trapping privileges are cancelled the cabin must be removed within 60 days or it will become the property of the crown.
4. If a trapper decides to give up trapping or his licence is cancelled, the Ministry will assign a new trapper. Traplines are the property of the crown and may not be sold or transferred by the trapper.
5. Any offence against the Game and Fish Act R.S.O. 1970 Chapter 186 as amended or the Regulations made thereunder, while using the above trapline, will automatically result in the cancellation of your trapping privileges.

I hereby certify that I have read and understand the above conditions and agree to abide by each.

Dated at _____ Applicants signature _____

this day _____ .

Witness _____ Fish & Wildlife Supervisor _____

Three versions of covering
letter sent with "Registered
Trapline Agreements".

P. O. Box 448
IGNACE, Ontario
POT 1T0

Dear Trapper,

Enclosed is a Registered Trapline Agreement.

Please complete and return this agreement to
this office with \$5.00, thereafter your licence
for 1978-79 season shall be issued.

Yours truly,

Please find enclosed your trapping licence for
trapline along with a trapline map.

The "Registered Trapline Agreement" enclosed must
be signed and returned to this office as soon as
possible.

Yours truly,

Please find enclosed a Registered Trapline Agreement
for Trapline IG

Upon receipt of this signed agreement your trapping
licence will be issued to you.

Yours truly,

APPENDIX "E.3"

A 1978 letter by the Deputy Minister of Natural Resources to the Minister of Northern Affairs contains the following statement about trapline agreements:

"There is no existing law to say a trapper must sign this agreement. However, there is existing law to say a trapper must adhere to the conditions listed on the agreement; regardless of whether the agreement is signed."



Provincial
Parks Commission
Ontario

FEDERAL PUBLIC LANDS

TRAPLINE CABINS

File No. 2070
Date 1-1-72

Subject: Trapline
Administration

Section: Public
Lands

Date: March 30, 1977
New Renewed

Appendix "F.1"

According to accepted land administration policy, trapline cabins are to be used by the registered licensed trapper, under whose licence the cabins are allowed on Crown land, only during the time between two weeks prior to and two weeks following an trapping season, for the purposes associated with the harvest of fur bearing animals. Use of the cabins for any other purpose is not permitted. However, he may use the cabin(s) in the off season provided that it is for purposes connected with trapping and he has written permission from the District Manager. When a trapline licence is transferred to another person, the trapline cabins within the licensed area may be transferred with the licence.

Under Section 27(4) of The Public Lands Act, the trapline cabin on Crown land become the property of the Crown when the trapping licence which authorized them expires through default or surrender. The trapper however, will be given 30 days to remove the cabins and to leave the sites in a safe and sanitary condition.

Responsibility

Action

Trapper

1. When applying for a trapping licence or its renewal, indicates to the District Manager where each of his cabin is located.

District Manager

2. Sends trapper an identification plate, (Appendix A) complete for each of his cabin with licence or renewal.

Trapper

3. Affixes the proper identification plate to the front door of each of his cabins, to be viewed from the outside, not later than two weeks after the opening of the trapping season.

NEW CABINS

4. Obtains permission in writing from the District Manager before constructing a new cabin.

12.....

Trapper Cont'd.....

5. Ensures that the cabin is located at least 100' feet from the high water mark of any lake or stream, and that the cabin floor space does not exceed three hundred square feet.

APPENDIX "F.2"

Brief by the SLTC addressed to the OTA, March 7, 1981

(This brief was intended to convey our position on this subject during MNR-OTA discussions)

"Trapline cabins represent an investment, that a trapper, on retiring or relocating (termination of licence) should have a full right to sell, without having to move the same.

Trapline cabins represent an equity comparable, for instance, to that of tourist camp outposts to its owner. These are always sold, and there is little or no difficulty in transferring the licence involved.

We would like to compare the handling of accommodations (cabins, shacks, bunkhouses) by MNR in case of sale by the owner of business or company of the below listed enterprises with policies applied to trapline cabins.

Tourist establishments

Mines

Com. fish camps

Timber (logging) camps

In comparing the written MNR reg. which do not allow the trapper to pass on as sale, his improvements, rather makes him tear these down within 30 days with the handling of the above enterprises affairs.....
.... its like a kick in the teeth...

The following suggestions have the councils backing, please read at meeting:

(A)

- x) Right to have one cabin: should be extended to trappers, regardless of where on crown land their trapline area is located, or whether it is accessable by road or not, or whether the trapper lives close to it. There may be a minimum trapline area stipulation though.
- x) Additional cabins. Small cabins, one for every 30 to 30 square miles of trapping area and spaced as close as 8 or ten miles along watercourses should be acceptable. This is very important in the economics of trapping, since ever increasing fuel costs make unnecessary travel undesirable. A size and quality limit could be required for these work or line cabins.
- x) Main camp. Could be built to confortable cottage or tourist cabin standard. Outbuildings like: ice house, outhouse, woodshed, dock and workshop should be allowed. Full time dwelling privileges with long term lease arrangement should be optional for full time trappers.
- x) Line cabins should require no lease.
- x) The opinion of MNR that line cabins should not be rented out is acceptable, in spite of the fact that as recent as ten years ago MNR officials have openly encouraged such use. Such use nowadays would only lead to conflicts with tourist outfitters.
- x) It is acceptable to pay stumpage for all logs used in buildings on long term lease property.

- x) Paying of taxes other than the lease fee should not be required of the trapper. On the other hand: services like roadbuilding and maintenance, hydro, special fire protection should not be required of the government
- x) Soil condition requirements re: main camp could be the same as for cottage sites. No such condition would apply in case of line camps.
- x) Distance from shore for any trapline cabin should be regulated same as for ordinary cottages. The 400 foot minimum shore to cabin requirement is unacceptable in most cases. However, building of line cabins any distance inland is often necessary and should be an option.

(B)

- x) Right to sell trapline improvements with transfer should be reinstated. This would include all buildings. A sufficient length of time would be given to the trapper of a line that he wants to retire from or transfer, to find a willing replacement trapper who would meet the MNR's requirements and would be a customer for the trappers equipment. A formula could be devised, to compute the trapper's time for disposal, possibly something like three months for every year that the trapper held the line, with an upper limit of two or three years. If in the meantime the original trapper was unable to trap, a temporary replacement

trapper could be licenced, if indeed the line was overcrowded with some species and needed to be looked after. If after the time of grace a replacement-customer has not been found, then the MNR would step in with an arbitrary decision.

(C)

- x) If the holder of a trapline dies, the right to dispose of it and the improvements should fall heir to the survivors, which would be given a reasonable time span to decide on taking over the trapping privileges or to dispose of privileges and equipment."

Appendix "F.3"

Toronto, Ontario
1982 02 15

LEF

MEMORANDUM TO:

FROM: Land Management Branch
Public Lands Section

RE: Directive LM 7.01.01
"Regulating Trapline Buildings"

Attached is a copy of the final draft of the above directive. It endeavours to reflect the input of the Ontario Trappers Association, The Wildlife Branch, and the field offices.

The draft is being forwarded to you now because we indicated to the Association that we would try to have field staff informed of the new policy before the 1982 Trappers Convention.

The draft replaces all former drafts, including the one sent out by Wildlife Branch last November. It will, in due course, be published on punched paper for insertion in directives binders.

E.F. Anderson
E.F. Anderson
Director
LEF/eeb
LEF/eeb

Attach.

c.c.: Director
Wildlife Branch
Room 2327, Whitney Block
Attention: Murray Smith

REGULATING TRAPLINE BUILDINGS

Policy Directive LM 7.01.05 "Free Use of Crown Lands" provides that buildings used by a licenced trapper on his licenced trapline area do not require land use authority under the Public Lands Act.

Trapline buildings normally consist of a cabin, and an ancillary building for skinning and/or storage, plus a privy. Such buildings are for use only:

- by the licenced trapper and his approved helper(s), if any;
- for purposes associated with the harvesting of furs;
- during the period extending from two weeks before to two weeks after the open season in the area for taking fur-bearers. (Use of the buildings in the off season, for purposes of trapline management, may however be allowed by written permission of the District Manager).

Resulting from past administrative practice, existing trapline cabins on Crown lands should already bear identification plates (see Appendix A). If not, the trapper should be provided with completed plates for his sites and instructed to affix one plate to the outside of the front door of each of his cabins.

Where a trapper proposes constructing any new buildings, whether on a new site or as additional structures or enlargements on an existing site, he must first obtain the District Manager's written permission. If the District Manager concurs in the need for the new construction and its proposed location¹ he provides a letter of permission containing conditions², i.e. minimum set-back from water, maximum size of cabin, maximum size of ancillary building. If permission is for a new site, a completed identification plate should be provided when the cabin is built.

¹ Location should conform with guidelines in Policy Directive LM 8.04.05, "Operations Campsites on Crown Lands". Also, new trapline buildings should not be permitted on sites suitable for cottaging, outpost camps, etc. On the other hand, locational constraints should not be so stringent that the trapper's travel patterns are impaired; building location(s) should be compatible with the best possible travel routing for efficient operation of that trapline.

² In no case should conditions be any more lenient than those for remote cottages, which allow 200 to 400 square feet for the main building and limit the ancillary building to 100 square feet. Subject to those maximums, a trapper should be allowed building sizes that suit his needs.

When a trapline is transferred to another trapper, the trapline buildings within the licenced area may be transferred with the trapline if, in the opinion of all concerned, those buildings are necessary for effective operation of the line. A financial settlement for the buildings should be worked out between the two trappers themselves or, if they wish, with input from members of their local trappers' council. Of course, the new trapper cannot be forced to buy buildings he neither needs nor wants.

Where a transfer of the buildings does not take place, or where a trapping licence expires through default or surrender, the buildings are the property of the Crown pursuant to section 23(4) of the Public Lands Act. The District Manager may allow the retiring trapper to remove the buildings and leave the site(s) in a safe and sanitary condition. But, if the trapper fails to remove them within a reasonable³ time, the provisions of Procedure Directive LM 7.06.01 "Control of Unauthorized Improvements" are to be followed.

Please note that Procedure LM 7.06.01 (in (b) of page 1) allows for the buildings to be sold, rented, or given by the Crown to someone who is entitled to have buildings there (e.g. the new Trapper).

³ A period of time spanning one entire trapping season is suggested so that the new trapper can fully assess his needs for the buildings. During the waiting period, however, the identification plate is to be removed and the buildings are to be posted with form 869 (Notice under Section 26, P.L.A.) to prohibit their use by either of the trappers (or by anyone else).

Append. "G"

REGULATION MADE UNDER THE GAME AND FISH ACT

TRAPS

1.-
(1) No person shall use a trap that has a hook or sharpened device capable of impaling a fur-bearing animal.

(2) No person shall use a spring pole set except with a killing trap.

(3) No person shall use a deadfall.

(4) No person shall set a leg-hold trap in a tree or on a pole or other location so that the captured animal may be suspended in mid-air.

(5) No person shall use a trap that has teeth or serrations on its jaws.

(6) No person shall set a leg-hold trap for beaver, otter or mink unless the trap is,

(a) set under ice; or

(b) attached to,

(i) a sliding lock on a drowning wire or a device that will immediately submerge the captured animal in water and prevent it from resurfacing; or

(ii) a heavy object that will dislodge immediately upon springing of the trap and will submerge the captured animal in water and prevent it from resurfacing; or

(c) sufficiently heavy and set in such a manner, where the trap is set for mink, to submerge the captured mink in water immediately upon springing of the trap and prevent it from resurfacing.

(7) Except as part of a water set used in the trapping of beaver and otter, no person shall use a body-gripping trap with a jaw spread greater than 21 centimetres (8.27 inches) in the part of Ontario described in paragraph 2 of Schedule 4 to Regulation 427 of Revised Regulations of Ontario, 1980.

(8) No person shall trap for bear except with a foot-snare, box or culvert trap.

(9) No person shall use a leg-hold trap with a jaw spread greater than,

(a) 17 centimetres (6.69 inches), when set on land; or

(b) 21 centimetres (8.27 inches), when set in water for beaver or otter.

(10) Notwithstanding subsection (9), a person who is entitled to use a leg-hold trap may trap for timber wolf (Canis lupus) with a leg-hold trap with a jaw spread not exceeding 23 centimetres (9.06 inches), if the person is authorized to do so in the area and with respect to the time, number of traps, type of traps, and in accordance with the terms and conditions specified in the written permission issued therefor by the district manager of the administrative district of the Ministry of Natural Resources in which the permission is sought.

(11) No person shall, on land, use a trap with a trap chain whose length exceeds 16 centimetres (6.30 inches), unless drags are used.

2. Subsections 1 (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) and (11) come into force on the 1st day of April, 1983.

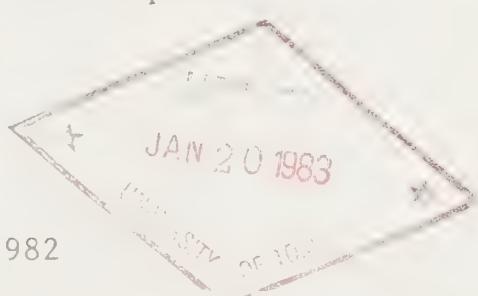
PROBLEM PARAMETERS IN THE CANADIAN MID-NORTH:
THE CASE FOR A RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN
NORTHEASTERN ONTARIO

by

Gilbert D. Héroux

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Regional Planning and Resource Development

Waterloo, Ontario, 1982



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During the seven years of preparation for this thesis, several people contributed greatly to its realization. In particular, I would like to thank my advisor Len Gertler for his patience and his confidence; and my partner Kathryn Fournier who provided inspiration and advice throughout the last few years of the process.

ABSTRACT.

The North has played a significant role in shaping the Canadian identity. The image of a vast, uninhabited, resource full, rich, cold and snowy country easily comes to mind when one thinks of Canada. And so does the comforting thought to most Canadians that we are sitting on top of an immeasurable reservoir of wealth.

This thesis contends that that perception is not only erroneous but also very detrimental to the North and to the country because of the direction (or lack of) it has given our national development policies. The major efforts have traditionally been put into tapping our resources as fast as the marketplace could or would absorb them. Private capital was allowed to move freely in and out of areas with little thought given to the impact of these movements. Little long term planning was or is carried out by governments to insure that areas such as the North benefit meaningfully from resource extraction.

It will be argued that Northern Canada is, by itself, no better off than any underdeveloped region anywhere in the world in term of its control over its own future. Characteristics that apply to those areas also apply to Northern Canada: dependency on outside decision-making, fragility of the economic base, staple economy and one-industry settlements, political underrepresentation, isolation, alienation, demographic instability of the settlement, brain drain, boom and bust cycles, lower education, lack of services and an inadequate supply of specialists and trained workers.

Having described the nature of Northern Canada and of the Mid-North, the paper will elaborate upon changes that are seen as necessary to improve conditions for achieving development in the North, as opposed to mere economic growth with no long term effect. The proposed changes will take place at two levels. First will be argued the necessity to modify the present decision-making process by increasing the role and the powers of the local level of government. Because it is the closest level to the residents, it should also be the one capable of transforming expectations into action (policy and program). In order to put local governments in a position to play that new role, especially in smaller and more isolated communities, certain conditions have to be met. They revolve mostly around access to information, access to expertise and access to adequate funding. While the formula for the last one should come from an agreement between local and higher levels of government, the thesis will propose the regional research centre formula as an answer to the first two conditions and will elaborate on its mandate and its structure. Although it constitutes a new approach in the context of its application to the Canadian Mid-North, existing or past models will be looked at in order to gain some insight as to their strengths and weaknesses.

Considering that the thesis deals with Northeastern Ontario as a component of a wider region, the Mid-North, the case for the establishment of a network of such centres across that region will be presented.

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INTRODUCTION:

A. Three perspectives have led to the preparation of this thesis. The first one recognizes the fact that the Canadian society as it exists presently is increasingly aware of the many conflicts to which it is being subjected and of the necessity of solving these conflicts in order to achieve even only a basic form of national identity. While the majority of Canadians have been conscious of the major characteristics shaping their society, such as the vastness of the country, its small and essentially southern-based population or its bicultural and bilingual nature, it appears that it is only recently, through both conscious and unconscious desires, that serious consideration has been directed towards problem-solving.

The question of Canadian nationalism for instance which has always been largely ignored by Canadians in general is raising more interest than ever before. Private organizations have started putting pressure on governments in order to see protective measures implemented. One such group, The Committee for an Independent Canada, created in 1970, has seen many of its recommendations taken up. While far from spectacular, the results attained opened the way to future action.

Along similar lines, but of importance within the country itself is the issue of national unity. Beyond the very important cultural factor being mentioned as the underlying reason for Québec's autonomy for instance, the whole question of distribution of power is also being raised.

Looking at examples like these indicates, then, that what we have is a surging mood of self-awareness, either from a national or a regional stand-point.

The second working perspective originated from the first one insofar as we will presume that regions within Canada need to be given more recognition than they presently have. While we recognized in our first perspective that the absence thereof had led to situations of conflict, in particular between provinces and the central government, we also recognize here that regions with no political status or ambitions (territories or intra-provincial regions) might strive for more autonomy. Such is the case for northern Canada. (1)

1 This term will be defined in Chapter 1

The third perspective relates specifically to one of Canada's larger regions, the Mid-North, and stresses the necessity to acknowledge this region not only as a reservoir of resources for industrialized Canada, but also as a potentially important functional region. In fact, the most important communities within the Mid-North were established long ago, and therefore cannot be labelled as typical frontier settlements. One would hardly find in these places frontier aspirations. Indeed, the more complex social fabric which now characterizes these mid-northern communities, e.g. older age of the settlement, presence of a locally born and raised population, increased community feeling, and so on, indicates that the occurrence of a boom and bust cycle would adversely affect permanently the well-being of the residents. Consequently, the point here is to argue against what could be referred to as the southern metropolis colonial attitude which has always prevailed when dealing with "the far-away North".

In this regard, one of Canada's most knowledgeable and prolific authors on northern matters, Louis-Edmond Hamelin, once stated that such attitudes will have to change.

"Le "Canada de Base" pourra-t-il continuer à entraîner à sa propre façon sudiste l'immensité du Nord? Ou le Nord pourra-t-il livrer à la frange sudiste assez d'éléments identifiants pour composer à long terme le faciès d'une vraie canadianité?" (2)

In fact, not only do these questions suggest the necessity of changing the North-South relationship, they directly imply what may seem to be a paradox; that it is not until the North is given the opportunity for more regional autonomy that Canada will start to exist as a unified nation.

Having stated these as guiding principles, this thesis aims at considering some alternative to the present system ruling northern development. It will examine not so much what could be done by government bodies alone but, more importantly, what types of concerted regional initiatives would contribute to lessen northern dependency on outside decision-making. This thesis should be seen not as a plea for northern political independence but as a call for increased north-south co-operation. It should also be clear that the measure of success to

2 Hamelin, Louis-Edmond. Nordicité Canadienne. Cahiers du Québec. Montréal: éd. Hurtubise/HMH, 1975.

be achieved will not rest solely on northern initiatives but maybe more on the responsiveness of our governments.

A sample of the questions still unanswered indicates the acuteness of the problem. While large scale projects are taking place both in the national and the provincial norths under a seemingly planned and rational approach, key problem-areas have yet to be addressed properly. What benefits are to be gained from developing the North and what will be the cost of such development? What should the relationship between Southern and Northern Canada be? How far and how fast should we proceed if we should proceed at all? Should the North be developed for Canadian use or for the export of raw materials? What environmental problems are inherent in northern development? How serious is the sentiment of northern alienation and why has it arisen? What should be the roles of government, industry and citizens? Who will make or who should make the decisions?

Obviously, answering these questions constitutes both a complex and a fascinating task that falls be-

yond the more limited scope of this thesis. However, the author feels that any individual who addresses himself to the study of northern issues is compelled to consider the impact of these unanswered questions. Since what is proposed is a new tool to help develop more suitable alternatives to the present northern system of development, the consideration of those questions is essential for they will provide a framework for a valid research agenda.

B. A final important influence on the design of the regional research centre model which is about to be presented is related to my personal involvement over the past 4 years as director of a research centre in North-eastern Ontario.

The Northern Ontario Research and Development Institute (NORDINORD) was created in the Spring of 1977 by the Board of Governors of Le Collège Universitaire de Hearst following my proposal while this thesis was still at a very preliminary stage. The decision to approach the College at that time had much to do with the opening of mind they had shown in getting more directly involved with the community and with research. It also stemmed from my own interest in testing what was still at the time a rather vague and idealistic concept.

While the existing Centre is much more limited in scope than the model presented herein, it provides invaluable information on some aspects of the model. Although a better conceptual preparation and more personal work experience may have yielded faster, larger and more successful results and may have prevented some of the problems that were encountered in the first few years, the NORDINORD example has contributed largely to the knowledge base behind this thesis.

This contribution can be grouped under three headings: conceptual knowledge, technical knowledge and personal knowledge. Because it is essential that the reader knows the extent of this contribution to my model, each will be briefly described.

The conceptual knowledge base constitutes the most important contributor to this thesis. The reasons behind the proposal for a research centre, the objectives to pursue, the setting of priorities, the nature of the relationship with the community, the perception of its needs and the ways of evaluating them, the process of understanding the dynamics of a region or of a group, and its place in a larger context (e.g. Northeastern Ontario as

part of the Canadian Mid-North) are only but a few of the conceptual elements that had significance in the model.

In practical term, the NORDINORD experience has shown that this knowledge is needed if the aim is to make a relevant contribution to the region's development. The lack of preparation in this context has been an important weakness of NORDINORD in the early stages. Often, because of necessity, i.e. to raise money, work had to be done without the proper preparation and without a clear understanding of as to where or how the project would fit in the regional context. The solution to this is to make sure that enough time and enough thought are devoted to this task.

In that regard, this thesis will elaborate on these concerns not only in the context of Northeastern Ontario, but with the conditions of the whole Canadian Mid-North in mind. By doing so, it will reinforce the conceptual deficiencies of NORDINORD while providing a basis for new applications elsewhere.

The nature of the information included in technical knowledge deals mostly with matters of financing, admi-

nistrative structure, personnel requirements as well as with many aspects of research related to selection and submission of projects and proposals, the establishment of a network of resource people or contacts within various organizations, project evaluation, and so on.

Certainly one of the key problems to tackle is funding. Although this question will be dealt with later, NORDINORD's past experience is very valuable in providing information on various funding methods. While from the start, the objective was to develop contract funding as the basis of financing for the Institute, the commitment of the college to pay the salary of the director provided a sufficient basis from which to build. Even though the Board of Governors had made it clear that this expense also had to be recovered as soon as possible as part of the revenues generated from contract work, it has continued its support through these first five years by providing numerous services to the Institute at no cost, e.g. office space, equipment, support staff and telephone.

Without going into the details of financing, it is perfectly clear that this type of endeavour would not be possible without some form of core funding, however small it may be. This could mean, as in the case of

NORDINORD, that a research centre needs the guarantee that at least basic expenses will be covered if the revenues from contract sources are insufficient. The highest contribution in any one year by the Collège in this case has been \$12,500. in 1977-1978, the first year of operation. Some years, this arrangement has meant net revenues for the Collège.

There are, however, some limitations under this type of formula. An important one is the necessity of yearly reassessment by the Board of Governors of its monetary participation in the Institute, assessment highly influenced by the overall financial picture of the institution. In these years of fiscal restraints and budget cuts imposed on post secondary institutions, the possible consequences on a service clearly secondary to academic programs are obvious.

A second limitation concerns the scope of the research centre's activities, particularly with regard to institutional research programs. The necessity of catering to projects with more immediate revenue potential prevents the development of self-initiated research projects which would be so important in a region where the

knowledge base is clearly insufficient. As we will see in a later section, the preference by governments to support contract funding instead of core funding does nothing to alleviate this shortcoming. The situation is even worse in Northern Ontario where the provincial government does not even have such a funding policy through any of its ministries or agencies. The obvious political mandate of the provincial Northern Affairs ministry certainly does nothing to help. Its creation came as a reaction to the increasing feeling of alienation felt by northerners and to the pressure put on the Conservative government "to do something" about Northern Ontario. The response has been to set up a ministry whose only mandate would be to increase Queen's Park "visibility" in remote areas and give the impression that it cares about the North. The provincial government has been very careful not to equip the ministry with the powers to change the nature of the present metropolis/hinterland relationship.

Previous attempts by the NORDINORD Institute to develop research projects with Northern Affairs have all failed because, in the words of former deputy minister Tom Campbell, this type of activity "does not fit into the stated mandate of the Ministry".

Another aspect of NORDINORD's experience that has contributed to the design of this model is the staffing requirements. Given the limited financial resources, it has so far been impossible to develop a permanent staff of researchers. Our solution to that problem has been to draw a list of potential contributors, either within the region or outside, that could assist us in specific projects depending upon their areas of expertise or interests and how these relate to the projects that happen to be current.

Since its beginning in 1977, the Institute has called upon about 25 individuals to assist in various projects. While some may have had a very specific background, e.g. architecture, mechanical engineering and environmental planning, others had no formal training other than their living knowledge of the area.

Even if the model in this thesis proposes a core of researchers, it is not without knowing that other ways of doing the work are available.

Personal knowledge gained during these first years of operation of the Institute also played a significant

role in the design of the proposed model. It appears obvious that had the thesis been written before coming to work in Northern Ontario the results would have been different, especially with regard to the technical aspects of the research centre. Having lived through a series of steps, successful and unsuccessful, and having survived a number of "post-natal" crises due either to surrounding conditions or to improper internal decisions, a perspective is gained that could not have been possible before.

Although I have made every effort to support my model on research done by others and on models developed elsewhere, it is difficult to estimate with any precision the impact of my personal experience in Hearst. I have been conscious all along of the dangers of trying to develop a conceptual model while having at the same time to struggle through the establishment of a centre. It is precisely for this reason that more effort has been put into looking at experiences lived by other centres and into examining their strengths and weaknesses. By doing so, it became easier to make abstractions of problems created by very local conditions or by personal limitations, and only to retain the elements that seemed to be more common.

Another influential factor in developing the model relates specifically to personal involvement in the community over the past years. In this regard, it may be worth mentioning that, since July 1980, I have been a municipal councillor in Hearst. Even if prior to that I had a close working relationship with the municipality, becoming an elected representative gave a totally new perspective on the nature of local government, on the extent of its powers and on the type of changes that are needed to make it more meaningful. It also confirmed a shortcoming of local governments, i.e. the perception municipal politicians have of themselves, of their role and of their perceived capacity to change things. With reason, they often feel confined within the rigid boundaries of provincial legislation. Although it may not always be obvious, the province has a tight control over local decision-making.

That personal experience in local politics played a big role in the type of local government reform proposed in this thesis.

In conclusion, having gone through the exercise whose results you are about to read, I can say that, if the model was influenced by the NORDINORD experience, the

reverse is also true. The reflexion leading to the model has been a key in redefining some of the objectives and in adjusting the approach to suit better the needs of North-eastern Ontario. At the same time, the reflexion did not make abstraction of surrounding local conditions. It recognizes that change will more easily occur if and when it corresponds to the capacity of the milieu to positively react to it.

C. In Section I of this thesis, the reader will find an elaboration of the terms of reference used in developing the framework of the research. Chapter 1 constitutes the philosophical component of the paper by implying that the idea of continuing development is central to the thesis, and that furthermore, the characteristics of various theories of development are applicable to present conditions in the Mid-North, despite the fact that they were originally formulated with the conditions of the Third World countries in mind.

Chapter 2 presents a description of the characteristics shaping both the Canadian Mid-North and Northeastern Ontario as one of its regional components. Within this chapter, priority will be given to those characteristics that affect the design of the proposed research centre.

The third chapter consists of a review of the tools that are presently being utilized in Northeastern Ontario for the purpose of planning regional development. The review will not confine itself to governmental undertakings but will as well include corporate and community-based ones. The first part of the chapter will further emphasize

the role of major governmental planning efforts. The intent will be to identify the more fundamental weaknesses and inadequacies in the approach. Knowing these, it will be the focus of the second part of the chapter to propose the need for new development strategies and tools, more in line with the capacity and the aspirations of the region.

Section II of this paper introduces one component of this new strategy, the regional research centre. Although the model being proposed is developed in relation to the characteristics of Northeastern Ontario, it should be noted that this region is a component of the Canadian Mid-North. Therefore, it is assumed that the applicability of the model is valid to other areas of the Mid-North.

In chapter 4, a summary examination of some existing research centres is conducted. While those chosen may differ in terms of their objectives and areas of interest, all have in common a strong regional component and are non-governmental, although government may represent their major source of income. This review aims at providing a basis from which the concept of a mid-northern research centre could be developed. Some of their objectives will be assessed in order to gain better knowledge of their importance for application to the Mid-North.

Once synthesized, this information will be of assistance in substantiating the elements of Chapter 5, dealing with the definition of the centre's major functions. Indeed, the regional research centres will be attributed certain specific roles, which are seen as insuring the maximum contribution to the solution of regional problems. The specific functions of the regional research centre will also be dealt with in this chapter.

The next section in chapter 5 will summarize the organizational details of implementation of the centre, dealing with such things as funding, personnel requirements and the administrative structure.

Chapter 6 concerns itself with the application of the proposed concept to Northeastern Ontario. In that chapter, based on the assumption that proper support and adequate management of the research centre will be forthcoming, an exploration of its impact in facilitating greater regional participation in the definition of development strategies is undertaken.

Chapter 6 will also explore the applicability of such a centre to other sub-regions of the Mid-North. As

previously stated, Northeastern Ontario, despite some local features, shares many characteristics and areas of interest with the remainder of the Canadian Mid-North. What is then the possibility of creating a network of regional research centres across the Mid-North, and further, what links could be developed within the network?

While others have attempted in the past to deal with the topic of research or resource centres, mention should be made of the fact that very few have developed it in a regional context and even fewer have done it in the context of the Canadian Mid-North. Consequently, literature and other resource material on the subject is very scarce. Such a situation imposes acknowledged limitations on an author attempting to deal with the topic. It gives substance to the fact that, no matter how well thought-out the developed concept may be, it remains the interpretation of one individual who can draw upon only a limited range of outside experience. However, in this regard, this author subscribes to the philosophy of Richard Rohmer as summarized by the quote on the following page.

"I REJECT THE PROPOSITION THAT ANYTHING
WHICH IS PRODUCED IN THE FORM OF AN I-
DEA MUST BE CONSIDERED TO BE A "DREAM"
OR "VISION" BY THOSE WHO HAVE NOT
PRODUCED THE IDEA".

Richard Rohmer.

SECTION 1. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 1. The notion of development.

This chapter is of particular importance insofar as it leads the way to the argumentation found throughout the rest of this thesis. The purpose of the chapter is to outline the ideological premises from which the thesis will evolve. They tend to develop around two themes, development and regionalism, two closely interrelated notions.

The leading assumption from which this thesis topic originated recognizes that the Mid-North, as any functional region, needs to be given greater autonomy, in the face of the resistance of the structure of our present decision-making system to allow for the territorial redistribution of power.

It has been argued by many scholars that the Canadian Mid-North is a suitable example of the concept of frontier region. (3) Many historiographers, among which A.R. Lower, A.L. Burt or W.N. Sage have "made the mys-

3 That term will be defined in Chapter 2.1

ticism of the frontier thesis attractive to Canadian scholars". (4) The position developed by those authors draws heavily on the observation of other frontier areas, particularly that of the American Wild-West.

This in itself has been a weakness in their approach because in the American mid-western environment, "the agricultural small-farm frontier was very different from the pattern found in many parts of Canada". (5)

But the part of the Canadian "frontierism" to which this thesis subscribes is the one preoccupied with the external penetration of most resource regions. Very simply, and despite the extreme differences in culture, demography, beliefs and other societal particularities, it is accepted that capital does not "discriminate" when establishing in a new resource area, be it located in America, Africa or Asia.

Celso Furtado in one of his books does not fail in picking up that inherent characteristic of large

4 Cross, M.S. The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas.
Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1970.

5 Ibid., p. 3.

corporation. He says that:

"Il paraît hors de tout doute que le comportement des grandes entreprises est le plus fréquemment dicté par des choix qui n'ont pas comme point de référence le système économique national" (6)

In fact, that observation is an integral component of the staples approach, which according to Mel Watkins, implies "the sucking of domestic capital into the staple sector, notwithstanding the predominance of foreign capital, and the propensity of government to see staple production as a panacea for economic growth and neglect the working out of a proper industrial strategy". (7)

The parallel between Third World situations and the North and Mid-North of Canada arises out of similarities in development issues. Celso Furtado has in fact been quite successful in pointing out that the advance of industrialization in Third World countries and in frontier Canada bears much resemblance. He argues that this

6 Furtado, Celso. Le Mythe du Développement Economique. Paris: éd. Anthropos. 1976.

7 Watkins, Mel. "The Staple Theory Revisited" in Journal of Canadian Studies. Volume 12, no. 5, Winter 1977.

is due to the control exerted by private enterprises and their interchangeable investments between one frontier and another.

Innis summarizes well such processes, and although the description takes us back over 45 years, it still holds sadly true today:

"Energy has been directed toward the exploitation of staple products and the tendency has been cumulative....Energy in the colony was drawn into the production of the staple commodity both directly and indirectly in the production facilities promoting production. Agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance, and governmental activities tend to become subordinate to the production of the staple for a more specialized manufacturing community". (8)

Thus, on the theme of the frontier pattern and staples approach, it can be argued that it has a worldwide relevance. Resources everywhere are in growing demand, and an increasingly common scenario concerns the prevailing role played by the same actors, the large worldwide corporations. Locations, despite sometimes consi-

8 Innis, H.A. The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

derable distance between them, become interchangeable, with such changes evidently being based on purely financial considerations without due concerns for the human element. Mel Watkins, in dealing with that issue of interchangeable locations, mentions that "this is so because resource companies are generally not diversified outside the resource sector and are increasingly large multinationals prepared to exploit resources anywhere in the world". (9)

Canada is a "young" country and has not yet suffered more than minor set-backs, the loss of rents from non-renewable resources, resulting in scattered ghost-towns throughout the country. But as it is discussed in two papers on frontier settlement in a monograph from the University of Alberta, "similar problems appear to be emerging in frontier areas the world over, for frontiers are everywhere shatter zones between peoples of different cultures and economies". (10)

9 Watkins, Ibid., p. 86.

10 Ironside, R.G., V.B. Proudfoot, E.N. Shannon and C.J. Tracie. Frontier Settlement. Discussion and Conclusion. Edmonton: University of Alberta, undated.

The predominant economic preoccupations in matters of regional or national development therefore raise the necessity to recognize that what we identify as development is in fact growth, the difference being that growth has a quantitative economic connotation and does not include changes in the other components of a society, i.e. social, cultural, political or psychological.

A discussion of the precise nature of each of these terms would require lengthy arguments beyond the scope of the present thesis. However, the author wishes to make clear to the reader that what is desirable for the Mid-North is development and not strict economic growth. Ernest Gellner also points out the confusion that exists between those terms when he declares "this language (i.e. that of economic growth) is misleading in as far as it suggests that what is at stake is something quantitative, a rate or speed or quantity of accumulation of goods. Ultimately, what is at stake is something qualitative, a transition between two fundamentally different forms of life". (11)

11 Gellner, Ernest. Thought and Change. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Indeed, in our society, the leading model of development still remains dominated by economic growth based on a multiplication of goods. That model is essentially promoted by the private sector at both the production and the distribution levels. This gives substance to Holland's premise that one should see "the underlying causes of regional imbalance in capitalism itself". (12) Under that premise, the role of the state is altered. At the production level, the state prefers to be given only a complementary role but it is increasingly required to intervene, mostly financially, to reorganise enterprises, maintain supplies or open new markets. This point has in fact been put forward before, in particular by Ironside et al., who have maintained that:

"In large measure, it has been the lot of central governments eventually to sustain the viability of peripheral frontier regions whatever their economic base may be, by undertaking capital programs and subsidization of transportation or production. Indeed, in many cases subsidization has been necessary even to initiate development both in capitalist and non capitalist economies". (13)

12 Holland, Stuart. Capital Versus the Region.
London: MacMillan Press, 1976.

13 Ironside et al., Ibid.

With regard to distribution, the state only has a correcting role. Wherever or whenever the private sector does not forecast profitable results to come from certain markets, the state has to "take over", either directly or through special agreements with private entrepreneurs. But very rarely, if ever, will the state force private capital to assume certain social responsibilities. In this regard, Stuart Holland in another of his works, again blames the economic system:

"There is increasing evidence to support the claim that (...) disparities (between and within regions) in large parts arise from workings of a capitalist system in which private companies are not obliged to face and in which governments for a variety of reasons find it difficult to compel them to do so". (14)

But, in fact, this quote is less useful in showing the weakness of the system as a whole than in making us aware of its dual nature. Indeed, the primary reliance on the private sector, accompanied by a blind acceptance of the public sector's role in correcting or overcoming the lacks of its private counterpart renders coordination

14 Holland, Stuart. The Regional Problem. London: MacMillan Press, 1976.

between them difficult at best. In this regard, Furtado makes the following observation:

"Compte tenue du fait qu'une politique de défense des ressources non-renouvelables incombe aux gouvernements et non pas aux entreprises, l'information et la capacité de les évaluer incombe à l'autre part principalement aux entreprises, le problème tend à s'égarer". (15)

Under the present system, the government is seen as a safety valve that opens or closes when required by capital. That role is totally unconducive to the preparation of a national development strategy. Celso Furtado outlines the position of weakness in which the state in many resource countries finds itself. He indicates in his latest book that the flow of communications between state and private capital is mostly unidirectional, i.e. from state to capital.

"L'entreprise privée est à peu près libre d'entreprendre ou d'intensifier ses activités dans tel ou tel pays, les finançant selon ses convenances, en fonction de ses propres objectifs d'expansion". (16)

15 Furtado, Ibid., p. 16.

16 Ibid., p. 30.

In effect, what Furtado presents here is the view that the coordination of economic development efforts within a resource region is essentially the sole decision of private enterprises, and this often without the state being aware of the planning or even the execution of such efforts. Of course, whenever economic returns from a region are not sufficiently appealing to private capital, then the state is asked to step in.

Others have reinforced Furtado's thesis, Frederick Clairmonte being one when he discusses the necessity of state intervention in underdeveloped areas to counteract the external private investments that benefit only the economy of industrialized countries. (17) To substantiate that observation, Ragnar Nurkse (18) defends the premise that external investments show a strong preference for export oriented activities, of which resource industries are a major category.

17 Clairmonte, F. Economic Liberalism and Under-Development: Studies in the Desintegration of an Idea. London: Asia Publishing House, 1960.

18 Nurkse, R. Problems of Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958.

The previous references to some of the many scholars that have dealt with the question of capital and the nation, or the region, hint at a potentially dramatic element in the pursuit of balanced internal growth, the question of outside ownership of capital. Indeed, having introduced briefly the role played by trans-national corporations in resource development, implies the presence of foreign capital. And a major characteristic of such capital is its mobility. In fact, for these corporations, the difference between national boundaries are of secondary importance; what counts is to attain, wherever they operate, a position of dominance.

Mel Watkins has studied in some depth the question of foreign investment on the Canadian economy. At the risk of overgeneralizing, one of his conclusions implies that such a situation is in effect a form of colonialism that perpetuates a state of dependency on a type of activity and on foreign decision-making. This is partly contained in the following statement that "the necessary origins of Canada as a staple-producer are perpetuated because of the nature of the capitalist class that emerges, and re-emerges, out of the staple trades that spring into being to serve the needs of the metropole". (19)

19 Watkins, Ibid., p. 88.

Despite such questionable consequences it is essential to recognize the dynamic influence foreign initiative once had on the growth of Canada. It allowed Canada to succeed to the rank of an industrialized nation, and to provide its citizens with one of the world's highest standards of living. Consequently, people tend to identify more and more with the staple producing function of the country and attribute to it the reason for their personal wealth. Later in this paper, the point will be raised about the negative impact such a perception has on the frontier regions of the country.

The fact that we achieved what Rostow calls "the age of high mass-consumption" (20) without even going through the previous step, that of "the drive to maturity", is quite indicative of the country's satellite position vis-à-vis the United States.

The reason for reaching the last stage of his model before having achieved the level of maturity is, to this

20 Rostow, W.W. Les étapes de la Croissance Economique. Paris: éditions du Seuil, 1960.

author, rather simple. Mass consumption has been largely induced by a considerable inflow of U.S. capital and products; manufacturing, which emerges strongly in the mature phase, has had an uneven development in Canada, and where it has developed in the south it has been dominated by corporate offices in New York and Chicago.

For Canada, to attain maturity now would require, then, a capacity to increase the national political input into economic decisions currently made by private capital. It would also mean having a larger measure of control over the capital itself, its origin and its destination. There is little doubt that achieving such an undertaking would imply considerable difficulty as regions or countries of the "periphery" can hardly coordinate their internal economy due to their close-knit relationship with the international economic behaviour of large corporations. The situation is particularly serious in countries where the major industrial activities within the national market are controlled by multinationals with their own long-term expansion programs at the international level, programs that are often, if not always, drafted without consultation with national governments.

And as Phillips puts it:

"Unless Canada can reassert control of its own economy and arrest its slide into dependency on the American economy, it will continue to lose control of its own economic policy. Without this power, any attempt to reduce economic disparities between regions will be largely ineffectual". (21)

Once more, the similarity of Canada and its lesser developed regions to other areas of the developing world is manifested. Evidently, differences also appear and will continue to do so because of the abundance of mineral, forest or energy resources that allowed the Canadian economy to enjoy the benefits of rapid industrialization.

Nevertheless, at least one phenomenon is a clear common denominator, dependency. Thus, the central theme of this thesis is that development will not take place in the Canadian resource regions until the state of dependency has been dealt with. And it is also part of the concept that growth as the mere increase in output as distinct from structural change, is associated with a strong level of dependency. Furthermore, it must be said that

21 Phillips, Paul. Regional Disparities. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1978.

the higher the level of dependency, the lower is the capacity of the region to reach an effective level of power which generally favors the blossoming of strong internal development policies. In making this point clear, the author shares a common philosophy with Balandier, Austruy, Furtado and others.

Having stated this, the question then comes down to a definition of the context within which development is most likely to be made possible, i.e. at which scale should development be tackled. In order to find answers to those interrogations, a definition of the notion of development is essential. For the purpose of this paper and because it deals with the total evolution of the region and not a specific part of it the author has chosen to adopt a broad definition. The first one is suggested by J. Grand'Maison:

"L'idée de développement (...) englobe passé, présent et avenir, traditions, croissance et progrès social, pluralisme et consensus collectif, liberté et nécessité politique, économie et culture, et tant d'autres composantes essentielles, particulièrement le passage des aménagements partiels ou sectoriels à la maîtrise globale de tout l'environnement". (22)

22 Grand'Maison, Jacques. Nouveaux Modèles Sociaux et Développement. Montréal: éditions Hurtubise/HMH, 1972.

A second definition of development with much relevance to this thesis is that of Raanan Weitz which states:

"Development is fundamentally a process of change that involves the whole country, its economic, social, political and physical structure as well as the value system and way of life of its people". (23)

To this author, the best spatial configuration for the above definitions is often exemplified by the region. Although Hilhorst states that "discussions as to what the region is have not yet ended" (24) this thesis will limit itself to the idea that the region is a space characterized by its coherence with regard to certain elements. The french term of "région organique" is certainly the most appropriate term in defining what type of region is implied here. It could be defined in the following manner: "région organique" is a space delineated on the basis of strong structural elements that give the region a distinctive character with regard to certain aspects. Those elements are much less of a physical nature than of

23 Weitz, Raanan. From Peasant to Farmer. New-York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

24 Dunham, D.M. and J.C. Hilhorst, ed. Issues in Regional Planning. Paris: editions Mouton, 1971.

a psychological one, i.e. a space with a distinctive individuality. This partly explains why there are so many different regional delineations. Each may vary according to the expected use or the purpose behind the definition. Thus the region defined in this light is of a dynamic nature, with changes potentially happening within short periods of time due to a modification in the importance of one of the elements. A review of the elements and of the process conditioning the formation and the evolution of the region is available in an article by Nicholson and Sametz. (25)

The regional approach is particularly relevant when dealing with resource areas. It will be argued in a coming section that communities throughout the Mid-North share common features, both in term of their activities and the approach to planning and decision-making. While this situation allows for increased usefulness of the regional approach defined as the whole of the Canadian Mid-North, provisions have to be made for political boun-

25 Nicholson, N.L. and Z.W. Sometz. "Regions of Canada and the Regional Concept", in Regional and Resource Planning in Canada. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

daries within it, i.e. provinces, as well as "economic administrative zones" (26) within these boundaries. The system of economic administrative zones was designed to "present a practical framework in which the economy may be studied and in which regional including physical planning could be organized and effected". (27)

While this thesis recognizes the possible appropriateness of that system as a tool for regional planning within a provincial setting, it is also implied that the system failed in recognizing the real importance of a functional region, which goes beyond political or administrative limits. In that sense, it does not support this thesis as well as some others do (Rohmer, CCRD, Gourdeau) that planning in the resource areas should transcend provincial boundaries.

Of course, the question of whether or not the Mid-North is a region is contentious insofar as disagreement can occur over the definition of the word. In broad terms, a region is a territorial and cultural entity.

26 Ibid., p. 18

27 Richards, J.H. "Perspectives on Regional Planning", in Regional and Resource Planning in Canada. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

R. Weitz writes that "a development region is thus a functional, dynamic unit that changes along with the process of development". (28) This is to say that within a finite space, at a given time, a group of individuals develop a way of life, a language, a social structure, a form of art, a mythology, in other words a culture which is identifiable with that space. Ricoeur identifies the region in the following manner: (29)

"Moeurs, institutions, rapports humains, images et symboles, dans lesquels le groupe se reconnaît, constituent ce "fonds de valorisation", ce lieu culturel où se décide finalement le sens de la technique, de l'économie et de la science elle-même, là où elle existe". (p. 294-95)

Obviously, following those definitions of region, the Mid-North has yet to reach that stage, but so has most if not all of Canada. Nevertheless, that it has reached the stage or not is irrelevant. What is important is that it has the potential to become a region in the sense previously assigned. While the pursuit of that state is natural, there remains the fact that the availability of

28 Weitz, Ibid., p. 188.

29 Ricoeur, P. Histoire et Vérité. Paris: éditions du Seuil, 1955.

proper tools is a factor likely to assist in reaching the status of region.

One of the best tools in insuring the development of a regional identity is in the decentralisation of decision-making powers or as Saulnier puts it a "deconcentration of powers". (30) But it should be pointed out here that deconcentration may sometimes be an inappropriate term as it may be taken as meaning only a delegation of powers from the central authority to its own representative in a region. This thesis wishes to lead more in the direction of regionalism which is to master internally the regional collectivity's destiny. The following quote from Delaplace is useful in showing that regionalism is rendered increasingly necessary in a society striving to reach a state a national equilibrium, i.e. the lowering of regional disparities:

30 Saulnier, J.P. "La Régionalisation Française, Mythe ou Réalité?" in Critère, numéro 23. Montréal: Collège de Ahuntsic, automne 1978.

"Aujourd'hui est perçue la nécessité de libertés réelles, multiformes, qui consistent à avoir prise sur le devenir concret des groupes auxquels on appartient, et à reconnaître aux "collectivités locales" le pouvoir de s'organiser dans leur diversité, de s'administrer de façon autonome, selon leurs caractères propres et dans toutes leurs dimensions". (31)

It is on this necessity of regionalizing the development approach in the Mid-North that this thesis is founded.

And although Northeastern Ontario is the study area chosen for this thesis, the concepts that are developed are not limited in application to that particular region. Hopefully, the reader will see the potentials of the regional research centre concept throughout the entire Canadian Mid-North.

31 Delaplace, G. "Mouvements écologistes et régionalistes", in Critère, numéro 23. Montréal: Collège de Ahuntsic, automne 1978.

SECTION I. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 2. The Setting.

2.1 Definitions

In order to prevent any confusion or uncertainties that may occur in reading this thesis, the author has seen fit to define some important terms. While these definitions are referenced, there have been some modifications to previous author's definitions as these were not always totally suited to our research objectives. Similarly, many of these terms are not substantially different from one another, for they often refer to a common situation but in a varying amount of detail.

Certainly one of the most fundamental concepts in dealing with matters pertaining to the North is that of nordicity. (32) It defines the northern condition of a place, of a character, of a decision or of a population. It can take different forms: climatic, geographical, psychological etc... and the geographical nordicity can be measured through the use of an index called VAPO (polar

32 This word comes from the french word "nordicité", of which it is a free translation (by L.E. Hamelin).

value). The concept of nordicity recognizes and puts into focus the fact that there can be many definitions of the North.

"There seem to be many visions of the North... The Southern vision (the North as a hinterland to be exploited for the benefit of Southern Canada)... The romanticized vision (wilderness must never be touched)... The pessimistic vision (which sees only the problems) and the developmental vision (with natural gas opportunities)". (33)

But more importantly, the concept tries to pull together, to synthesize, these different visions into a coherent entity that could be more easily understood. Widespread interest in studying the North being relatively new, considerable effort has to be put into generating ideas and exploring them in order to come up with a better understanding of forces and circumstances shaping the North. This increased knowledge will, no doubt, help to alleviate many current fallacies in the minds of Canadians and open the way to new approaches in research. Thus, this author perceives the concept of nordicity as being the basis of a new northern development philosophy, including technical, social, political, economic and psychological dimensions.

33 North West Territories. Comments from W.P. Wilder. Yellowknife: NWT Council, 1973.

The next definition, that of the Mid-North, has a more precise geographical connotation. This is not to say that there exists only one set of fixed boundaries. In fact, these will often vary from one author to another, depending of course on the objectives pursued by these authors and on the method used to define the Mid-North.

Louis-Edmond Hamelin, one of Canada's foremost authorities on arctic and subarctic matters, has developed a calculation method which allows the classification of northern settlements into one of three regions, namely the Extreme-North, the Far North and the Mid-North. His calculation is based on an index arrived at by considering a list of ten (10) distinct elements and by applying a value (VAPO) to each (see table 1). These ten (10) elements are subdivided into three (3) categories: locational, physical and socio-economic. Only one (1) element, latitude, makes up the locational category, while the next five (5), summer average temperatures, winter average temperatures, types of ice, total precipitations and types of vegetation, fall under the physical category. The remaining (4) elements compose the socio-economic category. They are accessibility (other than air services), air services, population (total and density) and level of economic activities.

TABLE 1
METHOD OF CALCULATING POLAR VALUES
ACCORDING TO HAMELIN

1. LOCATION	1. Latitude
2. PHYSIQUE	2. Chaleur estivale 3. Froid Annuel 4. Types de glace 4.a gélisol 4.b glaces flottantes 4.c glaciers ou manteau nival 5. Précipitations totales 6. Couverture végétale naturelle
3. SOCIO-ECONOMIQUE	7. Accessibilité autre que par air (transport lourd, navigation, pipeline) 8. Services aériens (pri- vés ou gouvernementaux) 9. Population résidente ou hivernante 9.a nombre d'habitants dans l'agglomé- ration 9.b densité démogra- phique de la région 10. Degré de l'activité économique

Reference. Hamelin, L.E., Ibid.

The method of calculating the index is very simple and is based on the principle that each element represents a certain quantity of "northness". Summed up, all of these single values give a measure of the total nordicity. For each element there is an index (value) of between 0 to 100. For instance, at the North Pole, the latitude value will be 100, and will decrease progressively southward. Similarly, the other elements will also vary depending on the location, as in the case of precipitation where heavier precipitation will correspond to lower values. Once these calculations are completed, it is possible to define the zones. According to Hamelin, the Mid-North corresponds to the zone comprised between 200 and 500 VAPO, the Far-North to that of 500 to 800 VAPO, and the Extreme-North to more than 800 VAPO.

Since the object of this thesis is to deal with the Mid-North, only settlements situated within the 200 and 500 VAPO are of importance. In examining map 1, (p.56) the reader will notice that, in general, the southern limit of the Mid-North (200 VAPO) in the eastern part of the country follows the 50th parallel, excluding its most important settlement, Sept-Iles (133 VAPO). Starting in north-central Ontario, the southern limit takes a

south-westerly direction to reach the 56th. parallel at the Alberta-British Columbia border.

Preliminary observations indicate that with Hamelin's method, all populated and accessible areas are excluded from the Mid-North forcing the southern limit to be placed just north of these corridors. This is particularly noticeable in the provinces of Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. It is easy to understand the reasons for such a situation. Indeed, in Hamelin's calculation the four (4) elements of the socio-economic category would have substantially lower values in a settlement of the Mid-North southern margin compared to what they would be a few miles outside such settlements. For instance, if we take the case of Cochrane in Northeastern Ontario which has a VAPO of 137, it is likely that such value would be much higher if it was measured for an area 15 or 20 miles south of Cochrane. Consequently, even with Hamelin's method, the limit of the Mid-North should be seen not as a line but as a zone. Hamelin himself draws a parallel between the definition of his northern regions and those pertaining to the West, such as the Mid-West, the Great Plains and the Far West, with no precise border line. Consequently, it allows this thesis to ac-

cept and utilize Hamelin's concept, with modifications of its regional boundaries, without modifying the method per se.

Another definition of the Mid-North has been given by the Canadian Council on Rural Development and is outlined in a document prepared in 1976. (34) A review of their objectives and results will be found in Chapter 4 of Section II. As for their delineation of the Mid-North, the Council simply used the limits of Census areas "above the agricultural and more densely-settled parts of British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario, Québec and Newfoundland Labrador" (35) for their southern boundary. In the northern part, the 60th. parallel is used as a limit for British Columbia, the Prairies and Ontario, while it seems that all of Northern Québec and Labrador is included, no indication being given that it is bounded by the 60th. parallel. The arbitrary decision of using Census divisions as limits has obvious drawbacks. A major one is that it splits "organic" regions into portions without

34 Canadian Council on Rural Development. A Development Strategy for the Mid-North of Canada. Ottawa: CCRD, 1976.

35 Ibid., preface.

taking into consideration the similarities that often exist between areas located on each side of the border. In the case of Northern Ontario, this situation occurs along almost the full length of the southern limits. Indeed, there is hardly any difference between the southern portions of Cochrane and Kenora districts, included in the Mid-North, and the northern parts of Timiskaming, Algoma, Thunder Bay and Rainy River districts, not included in the Mid-North. Compared to that obtained with VAPO calculation, the CCRD's Mid-North extends further south, reaching a number of important settlements, therefore making the Mid-North a more developed region. Insofar as this thesis is concerned, the CCRD's definition better suits its objectives for it is important to include the populations of the frontier margin. (36)

The third major attempt at defining the Mid-North is that of a group called the Mid-Canada Development Foundation Inc., a non-profit corporation sponsored by twelve Canadian universities. The definition

36 This term of frontier will be defined later in this chapter.

essentially follows that of a natural region, Canada's Boreal forest. Although Mid-Canada is sometimes referred to in their proposal as being the Near-North, it covers basically the same area dealt with in the previous two definitions. Furthermore, the term Mid-North can also be found in the foundation's documents, in reference to the same area of land they call Mid-Canada. In a report published in 1971, Mid-Canada is defined as being "the habitable region of the North".

"It is generally defined as the area within the limits of Canada's great boreal forest which stretches in a gentle arc from northern Newfoundland, through Labrador and northern Québec, south of James Bay, then across Northwestern Ontario, and through northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta to northern British Columbia and the Yukon, with an off-shoot up the Mackenzie Valley. This is a belt of land from 200 to 500 miles wide, bounded in the south by most present day development and in the north by the tree line". (37).

As in the case of the Canadian Council on Rural Development, the Foundation's definition was based on an already delineated region. While, with the CCRD, the divisions were administrative, this time they ori-

37 Mid-Canada Development Foundation Inc. Mid-Canada Report. Proceedings of a Conference. Toronto, 1971.

ginate from a physical region. Since one can find within the boreal forest many special features that apply to frontier development, the Foundation chose to select this area as their study area. The weakness here of course is the fact that important modifications have been made to the nature of the boreal forest. Important human and economic developments have taken place that have diversified the economic base of some settlements. Similarly, population growth in some areas has solidified the character of many communities. Consequently, as in the case of the previous two definitions of the Mid-North, changes have to be made to accommodate the objectives of this thesis.

Another term to define is that of frontier (as in frontier settlement or frontier region). It is an essential concept for it relates not only to a geographic location but more importantly a way of life and a state of mind. In broad physical terms, it is the area situated between populated Canada or "l'oecumène de base", as Hamelin described it, and the uninhabited northern regions (i.e. those with no permanent white settlement).

Undoubtedly, the perception we have of the frontier will influence our actions. Historically, it has

given to these new territories (the frontier), an image of unquantifiable promise that still prevails today with most people when they think of our new Canadian frontiers, the MacKenzie Valley and the Far-North energy reserves.

Consequently, and even though popular imagery is always looking for new examples, we maintain here that the Mid-Canada frontier as it was described earlier, is still part of the northern myth. As such, it influences the decisions (the actions) pertaining to its development. The frontier is, for most, including our governments, synonymous with a resources frontier, therefore giving it an economic connotation which has a negative outcome on its development.

This thesis contention is clearly that the frontiers are made up of more than economic phenomena. (38)

Finally, a last term important to define is that of resource community. To do this, we will use Riffel's definition.

38 Morissonneau, Christian. La Terre Promise: Le Mythe du Nord Québécois. Collection Ethnologie. Montréal: éd. Hurtubise/HMH, 1978.

"The term resource community means a population center in which the economic activity of the residents is dependent upon the extraction and primary processing of a natural resource, dependency being measured in either employment or export base terms". (39)

The reader should be aware that other terms will be used as synonymous with "resource community". They are single-industry towns, single-industry communities and one enterprise towns. The author is aware that all single-industry towns are not necessarily resource communities. However, in the context of this thesis, it is sufficient to know that the contrary holds true, i.e. that most resource communities are single-industry towns.

39 Riffel, J.A. Quality of Life in Resource Towns. Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975.

SECTION I. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 2. The Setting.2.2 Key Features of the Canadian Mid-North:
a qualitative evaluation

Geographically, Canada's Mid-North spreads from the West shore of Newfoundland through Labrador, Central Quebec, Northeastern and Northwestern Ontario, then up through the northern portions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta where it splits into three going to northern British Columbia, the Yukon and along the southern portion of the MacKenzie Valley. Defined within these limits, Mid-Canada is basically Canada's boreal forest area. (see map 1)

It also corresponds to the area where the most recent development pressures are at their peak. As a consequence of our incomplete knowledge of the area and our evergrowing hunger for resources, poor planning has been the rule. While it would have been reasonable to expect more consistent efforts in preventing the age-old boom-and-bust cycle to occur, very little has been done by those who held the wallet.

Development, solely through the exploitation of natural resources, still lies in the hands of private entrepreneurs while government, despite some encouraging signs of insight during the last years of the Trudeau regime, has gone back to a role of clean-up man.

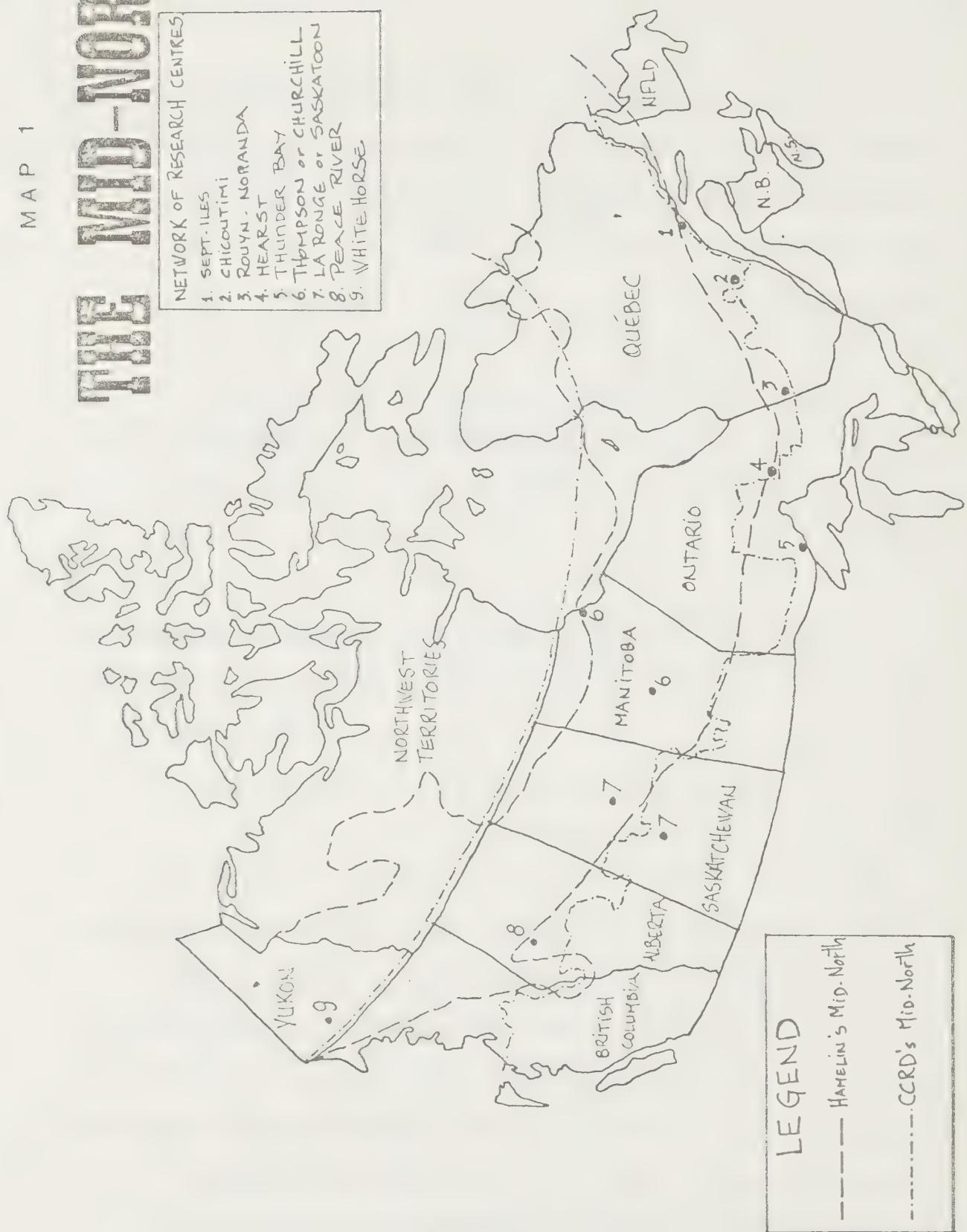
But, before making any further evaluation of our country's poor record in dealing with the Mid-North, an attempt at summarizing its most important elements will be undertaken.

Physically, Canada's Mid-North is characterized by its sub arctic climate, associated with the boreal forest which is, generally, a coniferous evergreen forest where certain species of deciduous trees such as birch and poplar can be found.

The Mid-North is further characterized by snow and low temperatures in winter, with little solar energy available at the surface, and by long days in summer but often with moist and cloudy air which keeps the solar energy relatively low also during that season. The growth rate and re-establishment of destroyed vegetation is therefore slow compared to conditions in middle and low

MAP 1

THE MID-NORTH



latitude climates. In the chapter on resources, we will see that such features have a strong influence on development.

The Canadian Mid-North is also dominated by arctic air in winter and spring and by warmer air from the West and South during the rest of the year. There is more cold air dominance of the local climate in eastern Canada than in the West and the tree line runs, therefore, from the mouth of the MacKenzie River to the neighbourhood of Churchill, Manitoba, west of Hudson Bay and near Great Whale River on the east side. This is a southward displacement of well over 10° latitude, or 1100 km. The important dates of ice break-up on rivers and lakes, snow-melt and beginning of plant growth are therefore later in the east than in the west. For example, the average date when daily mean temperature rises above 0°C is April 25 at Goose Bay, Labrador, but April 15 at Whitehorse, Yukon which lies over 800 km further north.

Apart from relatively similar climatic conditions across the Mid-North, there are a number of other important physical features found through most of the Mid-North. Such is the case for the types of soil. Most

of Mid-Canada is composed of podzoil soils, which generally correspond to the zone of the boreal forest. Being highly acidic, the podzoil type does not support a very profitable agriculture. Instead, it is always associated with forests, ranging from mixed forests in the southern portion of the Mid-North to coniferous forests towards the North. Podzoil soils are associated with some of the best commercial pulpwood forest in the country.

To the South-West, where the edge of the Canadian Shield gives way to the Great Plains, both vegetation and soil characteristics change. Mixed forests with a high deciduous element replaces the true boreal forest with its coniferous emphasis. At the same time, agricultural potential increases, particularly in areas where topography or moisture deficiency does not limit it too considerably.

AGRICULTURE

In fact much could be said about mid-northern agriculture and its historic importance as the force behind the settlement of many communities at the start of the frontier period. Areas such as northern Ontario's Great Clay Belt, Alberta's Peace River Valley or Québec's

Abitibi-Témiscamingue and Lac St-Jean were all originally occupied because of their potential for rural and agricultural activities. Today, with the possible exception of the Peace River area, agriculture has gone back to the rank of a very secondary occupation and severe decline has occurred in the size of the farm population due to pressures from other activities and lack of proper planning.

While agriculture had the definite advantage of providing a measure of self sufficiency to the Mid-North regions, recent priorities are essentially oriented towards exporting resources to major markets. Such is the case for forestry, mineral exploitation and energy generation, the three major economic activities in the Mid-North.

FORESTRY

In the field of forestry, the importance of the Canadian Mid-North is foremost. The boreal forest constitutes over 80% of the country's forested area. The fact that the dominant species is the spruce, which is the most often used type of wood in planing mills and pulp and paper industries, should confirm the role played by

the Mid-North in the Canadian economy. In 1974, the forest industry alone employed more than 200,000 workers sharing a payroll of more than 1.8 billion dollars. The per capita annual income (\$9,236.) in the forest sector was second only to the mining industry in all the resource groups. In terms of the export value of the forest-related products, they amounted for 1974 to well over \$5.5 billion, representing 18% of the total value of all Canadian exports. Knowing that 80% of that product value comes from the boreal forest reserves, \$4.4 billion of our exports in that field are to be attributed directly to the Mid-North. Considering further that the demand for wood and wood-related products nearly doubled in the last decade, and that there is no indication that the trend may change, we then have a good idea of the future, not only for the supply aspects but more importantly for the preservation and control of the resource.

The following table gives an indication of the proportion of commercial soft wood stands found throughout the Mid-North region as defined in this thesis:

Labrador:	43.6%	of the total provincial
Québec:	99%	of the total provincial
Ontario:	80.2%	of the total provincial
Manitoba:	72.7%	of the total provincial
Saskatchewan:	98%	of the total provincial
Alberta:	55%	of the total provincial
British Columbia:	70.3%	of the total provincial
Yukon-Valley MacKenzie:	65%	of the total territories

It means that, on the average, 73.4% of all Canadian soft-wood reserves are in the Mid-North.

MINING

Mining also constitutes a key sector of the country's economy. In fact, figures for the year 1974 indicate that it was the economic sector with the highest export value, at \$5.75 billion. As for the mining industry as employer, almost 230,000 Canadians share a total payroll of \$2.25 billion, i.e. a per capita income of \$9,868., the highest in the resource groups.

While mining in the Mid-North is not as important as forestry, it still represents at least 25% of the total value of the Canadian mineral production, excluding energy developments.

The exploitation of mineral resources is, undoubtedly, the factor that has and that will continue to influence the settlement pattern of even vaster northern regions. Proof of this importance is shown in the continual emergence of new mining communities across the Mid-North during the past two or three decades. Examples such as Schefferville and Matagami in Québec, or Thompson and Lynn Lake in Manitoba, Pine Point in the Northwest Ter-

ritories, or Clinto Creek and Faro in the Yukon, represent today a mineral production in excess of \$1.3 billion, with one of the fastest growth rates in the economy. It should be noted that these figures do not include energy developments. Furthermore projections released by the federal government indicate that the growth rate for northern mining operations should be a steady 8%, based on the 1972 figures, therefore giving the following results: (in million of dollars).

	1972	1982	2000
north:	\$1,435	\$3,094	\$12,500
	23% of Canadian total	28% of Canadian total	38.5% of Canadian total

The increasing role of the Mid-North in Canadian resource production is understandable. Southern reserves have been exploited for longer periods of time and are depleting; new modes of transportation allow for better access to remote resources; rising international demand and prices also favor development of new sites despite higher operating costs with such costs being more than offset by growing profits.

ENERGY

Perhaps the most promising resource area for the coming decades lies in the development of the energy industries. The world situation with regard to the demand for oil and natural gas has given provinces like Alberta a new role in the world market, and by doing so has forced Canada closer to a renegotiation in federal-provincial relations. Furthermore, the oil and gas potential of the MacKenzie River Delta in the Northwest Territories has generated considerable pressures on Canada by neighbouring countries for the immediate exploitation of those resources. Even greater than government pressures are the lobbying forces of major multinational corporations who also see the current "energy crisis" as a reason for an open door policy by the Canadian government.

Besides Alberta and Ottawa, other governments are now confronted by the politics of energy. The estimated reserve off the coasts of Newfoundland is raising high hopes in St-John's. The importance of the oil field is not yet known but already speculation has begun as to how the province could gain maximum advantage from that unexpected gift. There again, pressures will be felt all the way to Ottawa for a better federal-provincial deal.

If we examine the export value of Canadian petroleum products, it amounted to \$4.8 billion in 1974, i.e. 15.2% of total Canadian exports and therefore ranked third, immediately after minerals and wood. The most important types of exportable energy as far as the Mid-North is concerned are petroleum, natural gas and hydro-electricity.

Without getting into a quantitative appraisal of our potential as a major energy producer, suffice it to say that the estimated reserves Canada enjoys would probably supply our internal needs for many years ahead and would likely, with the surpluses, alleviate part of American energy deficits. (40)

Apart from oil and gas, hydro-electricity also represents an interesting activity for Canada. In this regard, the Mid-North is particularly well equipped. Already in operation are hydro-electric developments throughout Labrador (Churchill Falls) and northern Québec (Manicouagan, La Grande) that export a substantial amount of

40 For more on the energy projections, see Pearse, 1974; Schurr, 1960; Balestra, 1967; National Energy Board. 1971.

their production to Ontario and the Maritimes, and even more so to the northeastern United States. British Columbia is also in a wealthy position in that regard and there is considerable speculation that northern Ontario will witness a harnessing of many of its rivers through a proposed Ontario Hydro scheme. There seems to be no limit to future production in that field. For instance the James Bay Hydro-Electric Development Corporation through the sole use of its La Grande project will be producing more electricity than what is already being generated in the province at the moment. And there are still four more rivers on the eastern side of James Bay that could eventually be harnessed.

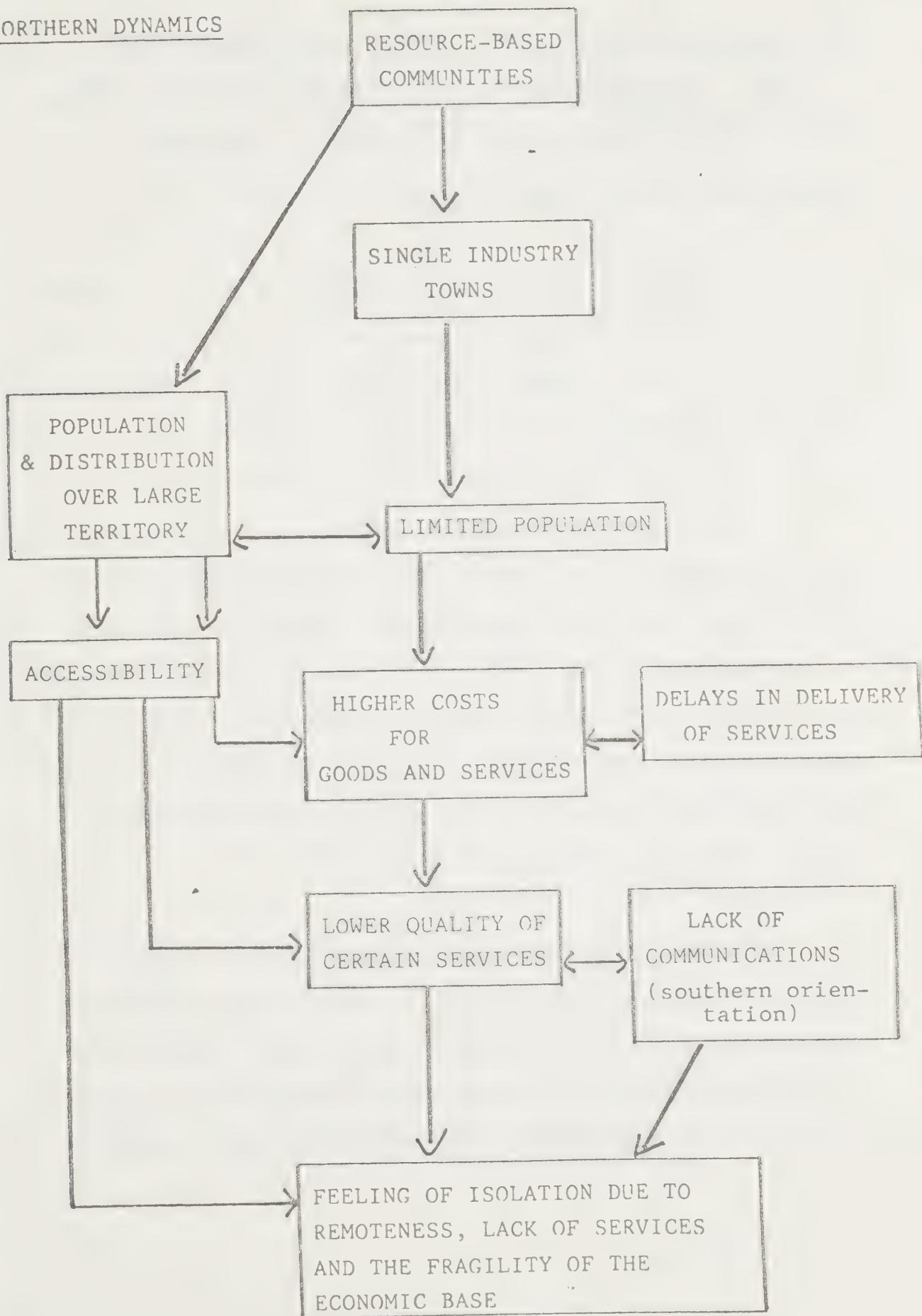
All in all, it could then be said that the economic base of the Mid-North is characterized by a massive exportation of natural resources to more industrialized regions. As a counterpart, the Mid-North is also characterized by a total dependency on imported finished or manufactured products.

If we consider the settlement pattern itself for the whole of the Mid-North, it is easily recognizable

due to the widespread presence of single-industry towns. (41) Being oriented towards resource exploitation, the purpose of the community is to house workers and sometimes their family for a limited period of time. In the early days of the majority of resource towns, particularly those created before the middle of this century for a purpose other than agricultural, little permanence was envisaged for the communities giving them a strong nomadic character. Population was made up of transient workers whose only purpose was to work for a time before going back to their home town.

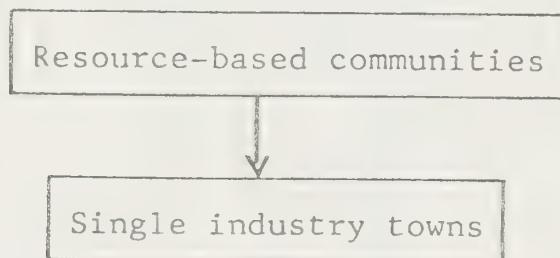
In order to summarize the topic of resource based communities on which much has been said, but which still requires more in depth investigation, a diagram is presented in figure 1. Its purpose is to present in a concise manner the major elements that identify the resource based settlements across the Mid-North. A brief discussion of* each of five components of the diagram will be presented. It should be brought to the reader's attention that the diagram does not pretend to be an exhaustive representation of all the factors characterizing

41 Extensive studies of that type of community have been done, particularly in Lucas 1971; Riffel, 1975; Robinson, 1962; Matthiasson, 1970.

Figure 1.NORTHERN DYNAMICS

the quality of life in the resource-based settlements. In fact, its purpose is to avoid lengthy discussion that would divert from the main orientation of this work.

COMPONENT 1. The economic base



Most settlements that depend on resources for their economic growth rarely experience a diversification in their industrial base. The history of human settlements in the Canadian Mid-North has been one of constant "adjustment" to the environment to suit the needs of investors. Where resources were abundant, and more easily accessible, settlements were established around the industry for as long as there were resources to tap.

Consequently, depending on the type of resources, some settlements were more mobile than others. This was particularly the case of forest operations. Mining settlements were usually longer-lasting although very much susceptible to the vagaries of the international market-

place. In the early years, it was also more difficult to appraise the quality of the mineral reserves which sometimes provoked high fluctuations in the labor demand. This meant for many workers a period of "settling in" which was often followed quickly by a period of "settling out". Consequently, very little community planning would take place outside of what the company itself would see fit to do. And most times, that planning would occur on the basis of an economic forecast done in a southern office building, unaware of the needs of the community.

The one-industry town, a product of twentieth century technology, grew from the initial construction stage, through periods of recruitment, settling in and transition and finally would reach a relatively stable maturity. Many of the Mid-North communities as we know them today have reached that level of relative stability and maturity. But this new stability does in no way qualify the fragility of the local economic base. Corporate decisions will continue to be made as they always were, using the bottom line of the corporations financial statements. With the possible exception of state intervention, expressed in dollars, no other factors, including the level of "settling in" achieved by local residents, will

change the decision. And today more than at any other point in time is the influence of international markets being felt in single industry communities. The situation of single-industry towns is dealt with in this statement by J.L. Morris, of the Canadian Labour Congress in an address to the Mid-Canada Development Conference held in Thunder Bay in 1969.

"The development of a whole town around a single industrial complex always has serious inherent dangers for the people of such a community. Even if the particular ore body (or resources) has long life, the community is still dependent on a one-product market which itself may not have a long duration. (...) So long as a community has a narrow economic base, with a lack of diversified industries, the prospect of its having a successful and reasonably permanent existence is markedly diminished'. (42)

While the "boom and bust" cycles throughout the Mid-North settlements have always had a marked impact on the population, the negative consequences are still far greater today. Communities have developed into larger, more permanent centres where aspirations of residents are different than those of their predecessors. Although eco-

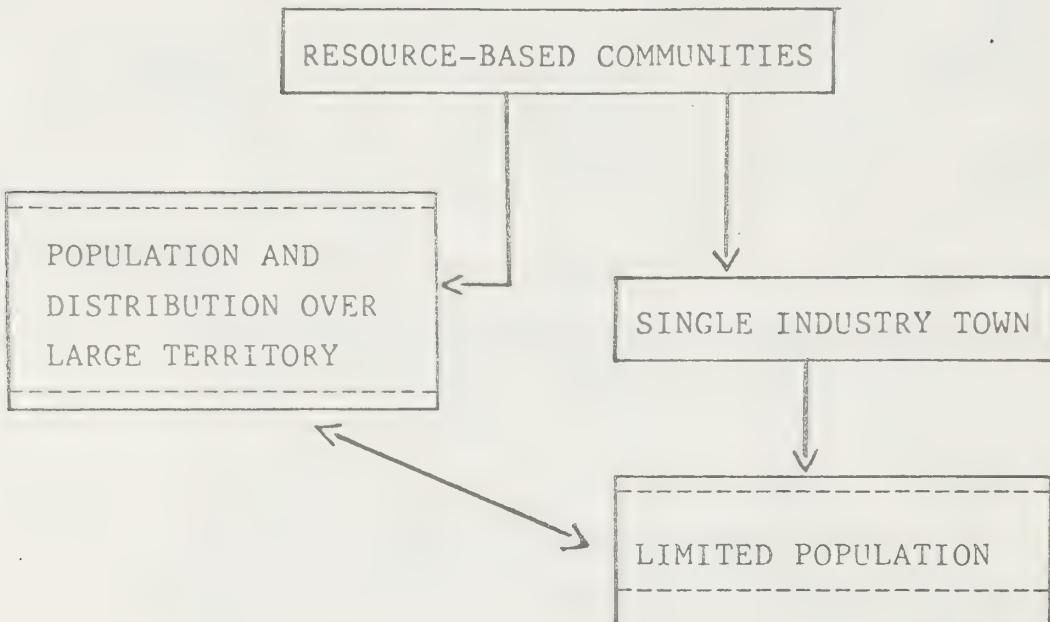
nomic well-being remains the major preoccupation of the individual, other factors have come to play a role in the life of their residents. An increasing number of them have never been seriously confronted with the prospect of having to resettle in another place. They have, through birth or matrimonial decisions, developed a close network of relations and an innate sense of belonging to their community, which was often absent in previous generations of newcomers.

Despite these new elements in the life of single industry towns, permanence is often still just a word. As summarized by Lucas:

"By nature, then, the community of single industry seldom expands; it is vulnerable to changes in international markets, changes in technology, and in most instances it has a limited life expectancy, if for no other reason than that the sole reason for the town's existence may disappear". (43)

43 Lucas, R.R. Minetown, Milltown, Railtown.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

COMPONENT 2. Population Characteristics



In this correlation, the population factor is introduced, and two aspects are emphasized. The first aspect is related to the size of the total Mid-northern population and the second to its cultural origin and distribution over a large territory.

The Canadian Mid-North does not yet account for more than 4.5% of the total Canadian population; as such

it has a little over one million people. Despite projections (44) to the effect that increases are to occur, it is unlikely that those would change substantially the present pattern of settlement. As a matter of fact, it is highly improbable that the projections now mentioned would materialize so quickly.

The limited population therefore constitutes a factor that necessitates consideration when the time comes to undertake any planning action. The small population also influences the distribution pattern across the Mid-North. It also impacts upon the relationship between different ethnic groups.

The distribution of ethnic groups in the Mid-North is not representative of that of Canada insofar as the Mid-North has a high percentage of native people. According to a report by the Canadian Council on Rural Development

44 For more on population projections, see Rohmer 1969 and Canadian Council on Rural Development 1976. The ACRES report of 1969 (Rohmer) projects for the Mid-North, 1.5 million in 1985 and between 5 and 10 million in 2067.

released in 1976, (45) there were nearly 100,000 natives in the Mid-North of an estimated 295,000 (46) in Canada as a whole. A regional breakdown across the Mid-North indicates the following: (1971 figures)

	British Columbia	Total Mid-North population	196	610
		Native population	18	430
		Percentage		9.4%
	Alberta	Total Mid-North population	149	410
		Native population	19	790
		Percentage		13.2%
	Saskatchewan	Total Mid-North population	21	820
		Native population	11	915
		Percentage		54.6%
	Manitoba	Total Mid-North population	69	220
		Native population	20	825
		Percentage		30.1%
	Ontario	Total Mid-North population	149	065
		Native population	14	670
		Percentage		9.8%
	Québec	Total Mid-North population	443	945
		Native population	12	480
		Percentage		2.8%
	Newfoundland	Total Mid-North population	51	320
		Native population		735
		Percentage		1.4%
	Mid-North	Total Mid-North population	1	081 390
		Native population		98 845
		Percentage		9.1%
	Canada	Total population	21	568 310
		Native population		295 215
		Percentage		1.4%

45 CCRD, A Development Strategy for the Mid-North of Canada. Ottawa, 1976. 121 pages.

46 Statistics Canada. 1971.

The reader should be reminded that the Mid-North definition used by the CCRD (47) extends a little further South than the southern margin of the boreal forest. This explains why some population figures are surprisingly high, as in the case of Québec. As discussed in a previous chapter there exist various definitions of mid-northern Canada. For instance, the Manitoba Royal Commission on northern transportation defines the Mid-North as being the region located north of the contiguous populated margin and of the continuous networks of transport and communications line. An evaluation of the population permanently living in the so-defined region throughout Canada then amounts to approximately 800,000 people in 1973. (48)

However, for one thing, the native population number would not change with an adjustment of the boundaries to suit the limits of the boreal region, only their importance as percentage of the total.

47 Using Census divisions instead of natural regions.

48 According to studies done in preparation of the Western Economic Opportunities Conference of July 1973.

It is interesting to note the variations in the relative importance of native population in the overall demographic picture of the Mid-North. It ranges from a low of 1.4% in Newfoundland/Labrador to a high of almost 55% in northern Saskatchewan. It signifies that at least one major element will necessitate from the future course of action in the Mid-North a regional priority approach with varying emphasis.

A final set of figures to qualify the demography of the Mid-North is in the distribution of the population according to their mother tongue. The report of the CCRD indicates that only less than half the residents of the Mid-North use English to communicate at home (47.7%). Over 43% French while the remaining 9% use another language, mostly Cree and Ojibway.

Undoubtedly this will have serious implications in future undertakings through that area. Again, the level of regional disparities in the language structure is quite high, with a strong proportion of the French speaking population located in northern Québec, but with a high percentage also in Ontario.

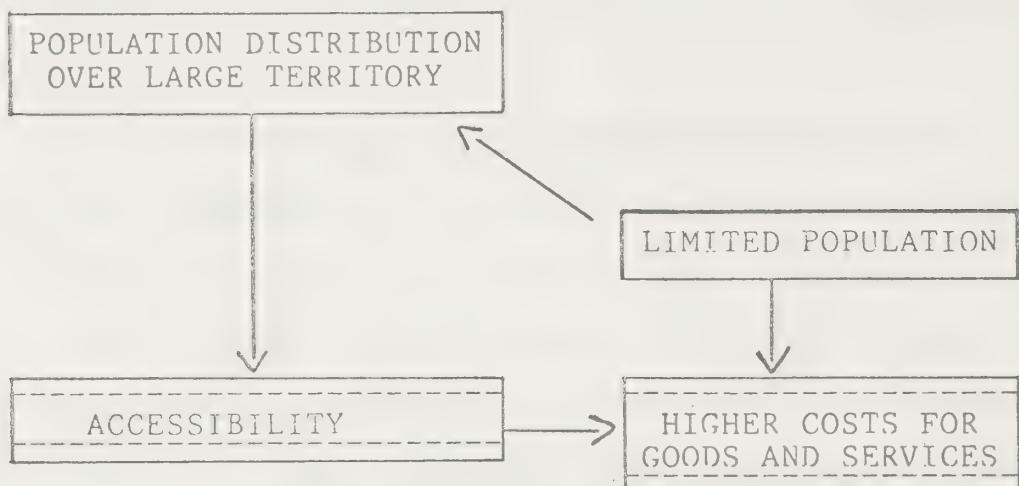
Proceeding further in the description of the diagram, it will become increasingly clear why characteristics such as distribution of a limited population over a wide territory and its varied cultural background affect the life and future of the Mid-North.

But in all cases, the development of the Mid-North will realistically have to be envisaged with a limited population. The region will become demographically more populated only to the extent that jobs can become available. It does not exert enough attraction on its own as of yet to modify its frontier image. In that regard, a measure of the weakness of a region resides in the movement of its young and educated towards more attractive regions where employment opportunities better suit their needs. It is unlikely that only minor changes to the type of activities in our resource regions will change the trend. Many authors (49) have dealt with this issue of the brain drain from poorer regions and most

49 J.E. Goldthorpe, 1975; R. Dumont, 1971, 1976; D. Holland, 1976, have written on the topic at the international level. There also exists a Canadian documentation on the issue, dealing mostly with the Maritimes as a case in point.

agree that only long term efforts in the development approach will alter the flow.

COMPONENT 3. Accessibility



The factor of accessibility plays an extremely important role not only in terms of getting to the resources but also in attracting elements of a global development in the Mid-North. But putting aside for the time being the consequences of poor accessibility, it must be said that the population distribution features of the Mid-North make accessibility a much costlier undertaking.

The lower level of accessibility of the single industry communities throughout the Mid-North is not only related to the distance factor between them or from more

populated southern regions. It often lies in the poor quality of the transportation modes themselves. For many communities, the transportation network was geared towards expediting resources to markets (e.g. Schefferville or Churchill). Recently, accessibility has been increased through the development of numerous small airport facilities, but at considerable costs for the user.

The draft version of a report on mining communities in Canada released in 1975 shows severe limitations to the freedom of movement of residents in mining communities. In many instances, road links are non-existent or consist of a secondary road. It is further stated in the report that "the location of the community in relation to existing transportation routes will have a significant influence on the costs of construction as well as on the feeling of isolation the new residents may experience". (50)

One major consequence of lower accessibility is obviously an increase in the costs of goods and services.

50 Canada. Energy, Mines and Resources. Mining Communities in Canada; preliminary study. Ottawa: EMR, 1975.

The report goes on to give an example of a northern Alberta mining community which, because of poor road conditions and lack of skilled labour force, had to pay 60% more than a similar but more accessible project for the construction of a school. While this constitutes an extreme example for the Mid-North, Statistics Canada released figures for selected communities across the country that indicated a higher cost of living in those communities located in Mid-Canada. On the average, including construction and fuel, cost of living was higher by 7 to 12%. (51)

It could be argued that such percentages are even higher if smaller and more isolated communities were to be included. For instance, an informal survey carried out by students of a geography class at Collège Universitaire de Hearst in 1979 with service-station operators in the Kapuskasing-Hearst-Hornepayne area concerning the price of gasoline indicated two findings: (1) a very substantial difference between the study area and more southern markets; for example, variations as high as 23% in the price of a gallon between Hearst and Southern Ontario,

were recorded and (b) a variation of 15% between Hearst and North Bay or Timmins, located within the same region. This last finding demonstrates that factors other than transportation costs influence prices of goods in remote areas.

A study of northern Manitoba communities on cost of living showed that food prices in that area were at least 10% and sometimes 75% higher than in Winnipeg. The author also compared food prices after removing transportation costs and discovered that the prices were still as much as one third higher than those in Winnipeg. (52) Indeed, transportation costs alone do not account for all the price differentiations. In many mid-northern settlements, the small population limits the number of businesses therefore inviting situations of monopoly to take place. Further, considering the distance factor between communities, it very often leaves the residents with no other alternative than that of doing bus-

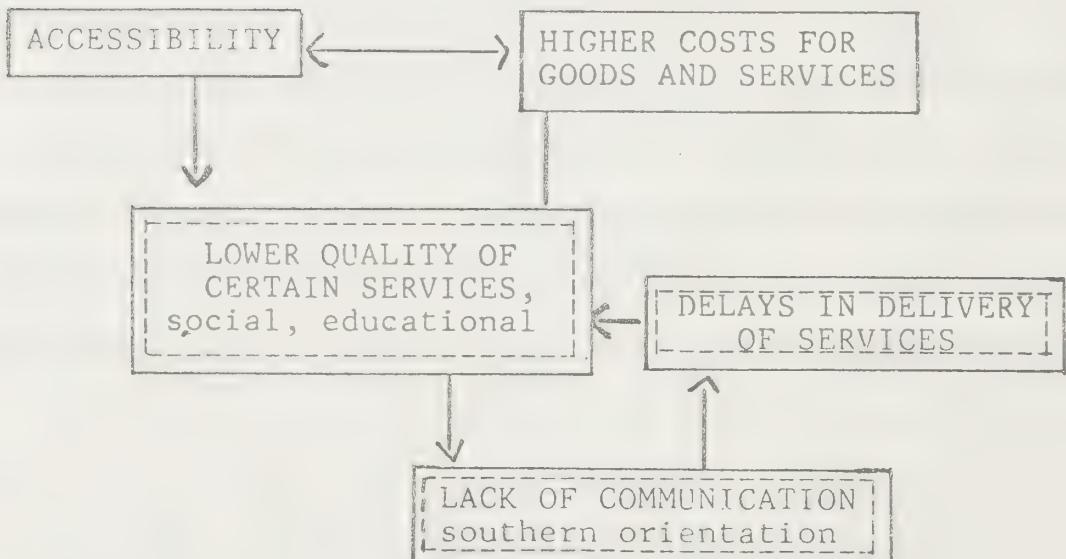
52 Seldon, J.R. "A Note on the Cost of Living in the North: Food Prices in Small Northern Manitoba Settlements". Published in Series 2, Report 13 of the Center for Settlement Studies. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972.

iness with the one outlet available in their settlement. Accessibility then influences choice.

The impact of a small population is also felt in the sense that economies of scale are not possible. The authors of the Energy, Mines and Resources report state the following:

"Generally speaking the greater the population of a given community the higher is the probability of achieving scale economies in many areas including town construction, provision of urban amenities and municipal operating expenditures. Per capita costs decrease as population increase..." (53)

COMPONENT 4. Services and Communications



53 Ibid., p. 94.

The quality of services is related both to the accessibility of a place and to the higher costs that have to be paid in that place to purchase goods and receive services. While the purchase of goods for private consumption is left to the individual decision, the provision of services often depends for a large part on the government's contribution. In cases where costly infrastructure has to be provided, choices can be made on the basis of a strictly financial consideration between alternatives. (54) And given the limited transient type population in many single industry towns, little pressure is put on public office to invest more in a school or a hospital facility. Indeed, there often is a tendency to cut budgets in areas where it is less likely to stir opposition. Linked to this is the ambiguity in sharing community responsibilities (i.e. costs), between governments and private enterprises.

Lower quality of services is also obvious in the general lack of skilled and professional residents. In

54 The government role and its approach to development will be discussed in more detail in Section 1, Chapter 3.1.

the area of health services, for instance, communities generally experience a shortage of physicians and other trained workers. This is an example where more direction would be required from the government. At the present time through the Mid-North, some provinces have a program whereby certain specialists are invited to practice for some time in an isolated community. However, not all the provinces have such programs and those who have often find themselves in a shortage situation as well, due to the purely voluntary nature of the initiative. In the best of cases, stays by specialists, be they in health fields or in other specialized domains, are also of the temporary settler type. Similar to an industry plagued with high turnovers, communities see the "efficiency" of the service hindered by the necessity of adjustment by constant newcomers.

Another element of the equation not atypical of other regions but nonetheless important throughout the Canadian Mid-North is the weakness in the communication network. And communications in this case means more than the transmission of a voice over a wire. It implies the role given to the area as a component of the development process, but not in a passive sense, more as an active part of the decision-making structure. ✓

Lack of communications is, for one thing, meant to refer to the southern orientation given to all exchange processes, be it for supplying and demanding goods and services or for making a decision. A minimal role is given to the Mid-North, a shortcoming equalled only by the almost complete lack of lateral communications through the Mid-North.

Consequently, the role of supplier of raw materials attributed to the Mid-North is reinforced by these characteristics. Furthermore, the lower quality of services particularly in education only serves to perpetuate that situation. The region does not locally educate and train its youth in sufficient number. Throughout the Mid-North, it is only recently that university education and specialized college training is available. Institutions such as Université du Québec in Rouyn and CEGEP de Rouyn or Northern College and le Collège Universitaire de Hearst cater to the local clientèle. And despite the availability of those centers, the out-migration of youngsters pursuing higher education is sizeable. The reason is two-fold: 1-attractiveness of larger centers where better educational choices are available and 2-failure by governments to provide adequate support for the

development of sufficient and relevant programs within northern institutions.

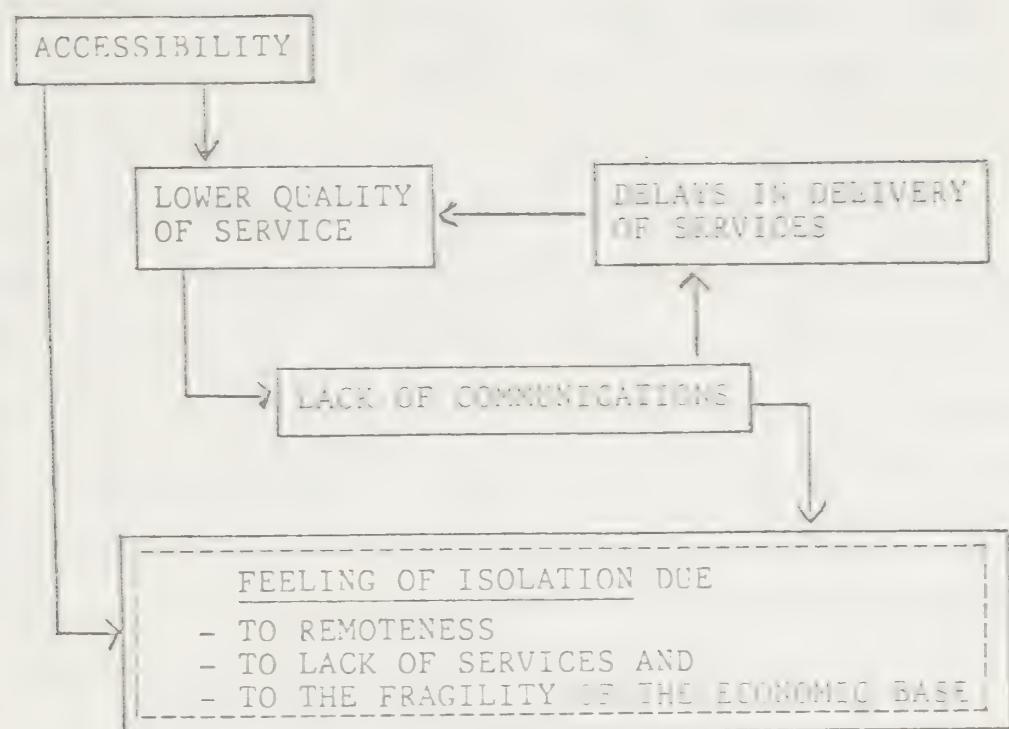
In light of this absence of participation by the Mid-North in making decisions for its own development, it comes as no surprise to witness delays in reaching decisions and in delivery of services. With no role to play at any level, information filters through to the residents of the Mid-North who are generally located hundreds of miles away from the "seat of power".

In the end, what is often left is a reinforcement of the feeling of frustration and of the small weight of their concerns amongst major leaguers. As V. Spencer points out in her thesis:

"That distance, and the complexities of decision-making structure, prohibits feelings of security, of being in control of one's future, in the citizens of northern areas". (55)

55 Spencer, Valerie. Planning Progress in Unorganized Territories. Senior Honour Essay, University of Waterloo, 1976.

COMPONENT 5. Factors of Isolation



The conclusion of the diagram is best summarized by a return to that factor of isolation felt with dramatic regularity by residents of single-industry communities of the Mid-North. Despite the constant efforts to serve northerners more adequately, the feeling of isolation persists. In itself, that feeling has no negative short term effect on the community. There will always be people to fill in the available jobs, and voluntary associations and other civic groups will find participants. The damaging impact of the often latent feeling of isolation is mostly felt in the longer run. As people leave the community or the area, replacements have to

be found. The willingness of people to serve is hindered by their inexperience of the area.

It may appear increasingly difficult to find a community where isolation is due to remoteness. Popular conception takes for granted that the improvement in the transportation network has solved the problem. Although nobody will deny the improvements, this is apparently not enough to reduce the feeling of isolation. In an article discussing the issue, Scott argues:

"First, the majority of communities are served by only one mode of transportation; there are only a handful of cities where all four intersect. Dependence upon only one of the four increases the awareness of isolation, and hence of alienation".

He then goes on to say that:

"Secondly, the transportation routes do little to ease the sense of alienation because there are no suburban zones around most of the communities. There is no easing out of one community into another; on leaving the outskirts of a community, the traveller is quickly enveloped in the bush. The next community appears as suddenly as the last one disappeared, so the isolation is accentuated". (56)

56 Scott, D. "Northern Alienation", in Government and Politics of Ontario. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1975. p. 237.

At the same time, Scott perceives distance as a factor adding a qualitative difference to the location.

Discussing the case of Ontario, he says that "there is an added remoteness to the alienation of the northwest," because of the increase in time and cost needed to reach southern Ontario - the populated area.

In a study prepared for the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, results of a survey of single-industry communities indicate that the two most frequent complaints by residents are the sense of being "away" and the lack of access to a broad variety of commercial and recreational facilities. (57)

The two complaints closely mirror the concluding component of our diagram which identifies two causes of the feeling of isolation as being remoteness (the being "away" part) and lack of services. In the area of services, the DREE report mentions that the three aspects of community services most responsible for perpetuating

57 Canada. Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Single-Industry Communities. Occasional Papers. Ottawa: DREE, undated.

the feeling of isolation are housing, education and health care. A previous section already discussed the general level of such services in a typical isolated community. To summarize briefly, the major problems lie in the lack of variety in housing as far as the first aspect is concerned, and in the field of education the limited scope of the services. Often, higher education, technical or university, is offered only in distant communities, provoking an out-migration of the children. The third aspect, health care, is perceived as being insufficiently developed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in this last case mostly referring to the lack of specialists.

Lucas is more discriminating in his description of what causes the feeling of isolation and does not apply it uniquely to single-industry towns or northern communities. According to him "isolation is a feeling, which, while based upon physical fact, has little relation to any absolute standard of geographical location". (58) Rightly so, he points out that people living

58 Lucas, Ibid., p. 396.

in northern industry towns may not feel more isolated than a rural resident in a more populated region. His argument is based on the observation that "the feeling of isolation... is probably more closely related to their attitudes and opinions on the limitation of alternatives than it is to geography". (59) And the point here is to submit that while the perception is not unique to residents of single enterprise communities, it is however widely spread amongst all of them.

As a final consideration on the topic of isolation, the fragility of the economic base is likely a major contribution to that feeling. As Scott puts it, "if geography provides the physical basis for northern alienation, the economy of the region usually reinforces it". (60) The type of economic activity is predominantly characterized by its extractive and exporting nature which implies that the products of local labour are shipped elsewhere. Furthermore, local residents play a very minor role, if any, in deciding the course of their own

59 Ibid.

60 Scott, Ibid., p. 237.

future. While company towns are slowly disappearing, the structure of decision-making has essentially remained the same, i.e. external. The very fact that the community's future is indiscriminately linked to fluctuations in the international market place or to distant boardroom decisions, certainly accounts for a large part of the temporary character of the town. To say more of the cumulative impact of foreign corporate decisions, it is a well documented fact that the more mobile categories of population in those communities are the specialized and professional workers. (Goldthorpe, 1975, Austruy, 1972, Scott, 1975). Consequently, this mobility leads often to a further decline in the number and the quality of services, and hence to an increased feeling of isolation.

Thus, it can be argued that resource industries left to themselves, despite high wages and substantial investments in community services, cannot succeed in preventing high labour turnovers and psychological attitudes which restrain development in frontier regions. Exporting raw resources for foreign transformation is one of the single most important causes of the failure of our present planning approach in the Mid-North.

In the next section, these elements will be examined in the context of a more spatially limited region, Northeastern Ontario. The reader will realize how the general characteristics of the Canadian Mid-North apply closely to the regional scene. Moreover, by mid-northern standards, Northeastern Ontario would find itself towards the more developed end of the "frontier" spectrum. This means that Northeastern Ontario has reached a seemingly more advanced stage than similar resource regions across the Mid-North. However, without denying that fact, it is the position of this thesis that what has happened is characteristic of growth not development (see discussion in chapter 1) and that, in fact, the more advanced economy of the region transposes itself into more complex planning problems, without allowing for more local input into the decision-making process.

SECTION 1. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 2. The Setting.

2.3 The problems of Northeastern Ontario: an overview.

It was said in the previous sections that the Mid-North of Canada does not yet exist according to a set of fixed boundaries, that the Mid-North is still a mental configuration.

At the provincial level, the story is different. Provinces have to define their territory, and within them, identify administrative units. And, as mentioned previously, there is a tendency amongst provinces to consider the peripheral areas, i.e. the less populated and less urbanized territories, as homogeneous entities. Unfortunately, the homogeneity is often only perceived in terms of the types of economic activities taking place over an area, to the neglect of other significant conditions. In the case of Northeastern Ontario, within its vast expense of land, variations exist as to the type of community, their size and age, the nature of the economic base, the composition of the population, the quality of the transportation network and many other components.

It must be said here, and it will be discussed at length in a forthcoming section, that the inadequacy in the definition of suitable planning regions in northern Ontario is a major obstacle to the region's development. For instance, there exists considerable differences between the lower Northeastern region, i.e. North Bay, Sudbury, Parry Sound, Sault Ste-Marie, and the upper Northeast, i.e. the area extending from Tri-Town to Hearst along the highway 11 access.

The combination of all those centres into one planning region has negative outcomes for it favors a standardization in the programs and approaches.

However, it was felt necessary to build the terms of reference of this thesis along established administrative boundaries for two reasons; first because any evaluation of the success or failure of the present planning strategies must deal with the entire area to ensure a better understanding of their *raison d'être*, and second, for practical reasons, as the available data often cover the Northeast as a whole, making sub-area evaluations difficult to substantiate.

Thus, it is becoming increasingly clear that a revision in the boundaries of what constitutes Northern Ontario is necessary. Some provincial agencies are presently involved in a process of revising the definition of the North.

From the data presented at the end of the previous chapter, one can start to envisage what constitute the problems of Northeastern Ontario. The intent of this section is to outline the major ones. The evaluation is regrouped under four headings: economic, social, demographic and environmental. This evaluation is purposely qualitative more than statistical.

1. The Economy

The lack of diversity in the industrial sector immediately comes to focus. Forestry-and mining-related activities are, by far, the major industrial employers and the economic "raison d'être" of the majority of the region's communities. The importance of mineral deposits and forest resources do not prelude any change in the role the sectors are likely to play in the future, particularly if the government chooses to adopt measures to encourage conservation management techniques and regeneration of renewable resources.

The amount of raw material extracted in the region suggests a much stronger potential for processing and manufacturing activities than the present level would indicate. It was estimated that in 1976, the value of mineral production was over 1.63 billion dollars, an increase of more than 45% over the 1971 figures released by the Ministry of Natural Resources. As for the forest industry (wood and paper), the 1974 Statistics Canada figures report a value of shipments of close to half a billion dollars. In another study, a 1973 "value added by the forest industry of about \$1.3 billion" was estimated. (61)

In spite of these very substantial economic returns, little reinvestment in the secondary activities occurs in Northeastern Ontario. To this day, attempts by governments in redirecting the location of such activities to the North have been rather timid. In fact, a comparison of figures between the Province and the Northeast for the years between 1966 and 1974 show a steady com-

61 Ontario. Ministry of Natural Resources. The Forest Industry in the Economy of Ontario. Toronto: MNR Timber Sales Branch, 1977.

parative decline in a number of variables related to manufacturing activity. For instance, the number of establishments in Northeastern Ontario represented 3.32% of the provincial total in 1966 while this percentage had declined to 3.12% in 1974.

As for the number of workers employed in manufacturing activities, the percentage was at 4.53% in 1966 but declined to 4.20% in 1974. In fact, the actual number of workers in the Northeast increased only by 408, from 26,205 to 26,613 between 1966 and 1974. Another indication of the lack of regional dynamism is exemplified by the decline in the relative percentage of the value added which fell from 3.54% to 3.28% of the provincial total. Finally, the percentage representing the value of total shipments also fell, going from 4.27% to 4.21%.

Up to now, decisions about the major expansion of manufacturing have been left to the private enterprises. And although some transformation is being carried to the level of semi-finished products in centres such as Sault Ste-Marie (Algoma Steel) or pulp and paper towns (Kapuskasing-Spruce Falls Paper; Smooth Rock Falls or Iroquois Falls-Abitibi Paper), manufacturing of finished

goods is almost completely absent from the regional economic scene.

It should also be pointed out that mining and pulp and paper industries are capital intensive. Consequently, despite a rapid increase in productivity, the level of labour input has remained relatively constant over the last few years.

These observations indicate that it will take more than corporate initiative to achieve success. Governments have a key role to play in designing policies and programs that attract manufacturing industries. Considering the present rather weak rate of growth of the manufacturing sector in northern regions, it appears that specific measures concerning the reinvestment of capital gained from the primary sector should be considered. To do so, some form of governmental guideline will have to be set. Currently, Northeastern Ontario cannot successfully attract secondary industries. Attempts by local or regional industrial commissions are good examples of this weakness. The only commissions that have experienced some success are in larger centres, such as Sudbury which gained benefits from both the creation of a regional mu-

nicipality and from its relative proximity to the "Golden Horseshoe", and Sault Ste-Marie, due to its location on the Great Lakes. As for other northern communities, they do not enjoy the benefits of similar physical and political assets. Again, this gives substance to the observation that Northeastern Ontario could in fact be divided into two sub-regions, lower Northeastern and upper Northeastern.

Also constraining the region's economy is its overall dependency upon decisions made, or changes occurring outside of the area. This has been recognized as an important factor by many, including the government of Ontario. For instance, the Design for Development report of March 1976 states that "cyclical fluctuations in the forest and mining industries" is a form of instability that should be dealt with.

Considering that the government of Ontario does not control demand for wood and minerals, it is fair to assume that their objective is then to see a diversification of the regional economic base. This assumption is also supported by comments from the Ontario Economic Council. In a brief published in 1976, the Council declares:

"Reliance on resources for an economic base has also resulted in increased vulnerability to changes in world markets. Cyclical movements in demand and prices, coupled with the depletion of non-renewable resources, frequently adversely affect the stability of the many communities heavily dependent on one or, at the most, a handful of economic pursuits". (62)

A case has been made in the previous section (2.2) concerning the consequences of that situation. This applies to Northeastern Ontario as well. A further effect of the concentration of activities in two major economic sectors is the impact of industrial strikes upon the region's economy. For instance, when the pulp and paper industry came to a stop for many months in 1975-76, the results proved to be disastrous for many communities and local entrepreneurs. The fact that very often a community's economy is solely dependent upon a single mill magnifies the effects of a strike, effects which could be buffered by a more diversified economic base. Again, the author refers the reader to the discussion of single-enterprise communities which took place in the previous chapter.

62 Ontario. Ontario Economic Council. Northern Ontario Development. Issues and Alternatives. Toronto: OEC, 1976.

Province-wide highway transport regulations are also an element negatively affecting Northern Ontario. Long distances from larger external markets, as well as between northern communities themselves, necessitate greater shipping costs for many goods - a situation which does not impede economic growth in other parts of the province. Although one would suppose that this northern reliance upon transportation because of greater distances would lead to the development of adequate regulations and different freight rates, this is sadly not the case, and communities and industries suffer greatly from this. This question of regulation and freight rates is another example of the variations that exist within Northeastern Ontario itself. Indeed, there exists a point of separation at North Bay determining different rates and regulations to and from markets.

This issue of a more appropriate regional transportation policy is becoming extremely important, and was to be on the list of priorities government would tackle through its new Northern Affairs Ministry.

A modification to the present regional structure was also suggested by the Ontario Economic Council:

"The Council believes that partial or complete deregulation would provide significant benefits for Northern development; and it suggests that serious consideration be given to altering the extent of regulation"

An extremely promising avenue with regard to an improved transportation network and its relationship to new industries concerns the building of harbor facilities south-west of Sudbury, on Georgian Bay. Studies have been done and preliminary work is underway which should open the door to a vast array of possibilities in terms of exporting regionally manufactured goods. However, the experience gathered from the presence of port facilities on the Great Lakes at Sault Ste-Marie may influence the optimism the Sudbury project generates.

Agriculture is another activity not developed to its potential. Two major areas, the Northern Clay Belt, from Cochrane to Hearst, and the Tri-Town sector, with New-Liskeard as major centre, are sadly underutilized, particularly in the case of the Great Clay Belt. The declining interest in agricultural production has

two related causes: the opening-up of other economic sectors offering more appealing wages and the laissez-faire attitude of the government which, at a crucial stage, failed to support that industry. As an indication, the number of workers in the agricultural sector for the Northeast has declined from 6,079 in 1961 to 3,370 in 1971, i.e. 44.6%. The provincial decline has been substantially less at 23%.

In more than one area could local agriculture meet regional commodity demands; two examples are the dairy and cattle industries. While the Timiskaming area is still showing some weak signs of vitality with the lowest decrease in agricultural labour force of all districts in Northeastern Ontario between 1961 and 1971 (-38.2%), strong measures have to be taken without delay. The district of Cochrane, which contains most of the Northern Clay Belt, has experienced the fastest rate of decrease of all Northeastern Ontario districts with 63.5%, between 1961 and 1971. The research done by an experimental farm of the federal government located in Kapuskasing is all but lost, considering the lack of serious consideration given to agriculture by its provincial counterpart. The Manitoulin district could show

an agricultural vocation, if provided with the support. At the present time, it occupies 14.1% of the labour force, the third most important activity within the district.

2. Social Aspects

One of the most crucial social problems in North-eastern Ontario is related to the provision and quality of shelter to its inhabitants. Dispersal of population, terrain characteristics, increased construction costs, resource-based communities, government policies and assistance programs are but a few of the factors that lower northern housing starts.

Distance and ground conditions are two factors that have direct implications on the cost of housing. Although rich in many building materials, the present manufacturing situation of Northeastern Ontario forces the importation of these goods at an increased cost.

Another factor influencing the construction of housing has to do with the availability of mortgage funds. The semi-permanent character of many single resource-based communities highly affects the decision of poten-

tial lenders. In its 1971 brief, the Ontario Economic Council declared:

"Because many residents of northern Ontario live in single-industry or single-resource communities, the dangers of depletion of resources or a fall in demand for the single product provides a potentially insecure basis for future growth and development". (63)

A further element influencing housing is the presence of province-wide standards with regard to construction. There does not seem to be any recognition by provincial authorities that circumstances are different in this region and would require more appropriate regulations. In the same vein more assistance programs would be needed. At the present time, only the Northern Ontario Assistance in Housing (NOAH) program is available and is intended to "provide low-income families in non-urban areas in northern Ontario, with assisted rental housing". (64) It is also interesting to note that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) is little

63 Ibid., p. 14.

64 Ontario. Ministry of Housing. Housing Programs in Ontario. Toronto: MOH, June 1975.

involved in assisted housing programs. Despite shortages in housing stocks in many communities of the Northeast, CMHC has been involved in only one project through its Co-operative Housing or Private Non-profit Housing programs for the area between North Bay and Longlac-Geraldton. The project took place in Timmins. A second project is now under construction in Hearst but at the beginning, progress had been seriously hampered by bureaucratic procedures. The effect of this neglect is that the community is obliged to continue tolerating sub-standard but nonetheless over-crowded and over-priced housing units. In January 1981, a decision by the federal government to discontinue its participation in joint federal-provincial programs is likely to have a negative impact on social and low or geared to income housing in the North. At the present time, until any announcement of a new program by the federal government, funding for this type of venture rests upon the province's initiative. Although the decision by Ottawa is too recent to have had any consequence, one can venture to say that it is unlikely to improve the overall housing shortage.

A more specific program dealing with assisting individual homeowners is necessary. As indicated in the

Design for Development report of March 1976, "when the cost of housing is related to the average after-tax income by community(...), the cost of housing is actually higher in Northeastern Ontario". (65)

One of the direct results of these higher housing costs is the importance given to mobile home ownership as a substitute for standard single family housing. While representing only 7.6% of the total Ontario population, Northeastern Ontario accounts for almost 25% of the mobile homes in the Province. (66) Problems related to this particular type of dwelling have been covered in detail in V. Spencer's study of Sault North area. (67) The lack of governmental policies, guidelines and controls opens the door to severe abuses by developers and mobile home parks owners. Furthermore the vast majority of these units are sub-standard and often pre-

65 Ontario. Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs. Design for Development: Northeastern Ontario. Toronto: TEIA, March 1976.

66 In Statistical appendix of Design for Development Report.

67 Spencer, V. Ibid.

sent health hazards to the occupants. Once again specific legislation is needed in what proves to be an alternative to standard housing in Northeastern Ontario.

Health constitutes a second major social problem in Northeastern Ontario, especially with regard to the provision of health services to smaller remote communities. Overall, there is a lack of physicians and dentists as the ratio is lower than for the rest of the Province. The problem is not so much in urban centres such as Sudbury, Sault Ste-Marie and North Bay, but more in centres such as Kirkland Lake, Smooth Rock Falls, Wawa and the like. Needless to say, unorganized communities are in an even more precarious situation. A study commissioned by the Ontario Ministry of Health in 1975 demonstrates clearly the lack of doctors and physicians in Northern Ontario as compared to the rest of the province. The following table summarizes well the situation.

provincial ratio: physicians/residents 1/ 585

Cochrane district:

-Hearst/Kapuskasing	1/1,367
Timmins	1/1,154
Timiskaming District	1/ 920
Nipissing District	1/ 855
Sudbury District	1/1,069
Algoma District	1/1,223
-Elliot Lake/Blind River	1/1,207
-Wawa	1/1,205
-Chapleau	1/1,695
-Sault Ste-Marie	1/ 787

The current attitude of the provincial government is to consider access to health facilities as a "cost" of living in the Northeast. (68) Furthermore they have agreed to say that because of the high cost involved in providing equitable social services to the Northeast, "the level of social services available will not be comparable in all cases to those offered in the major urban centres". (69)

"Small tax bases make it difficult to establish and pay for services and facilities which might normally be established without difficulty in larger centres". (70)

68 Design for Development, Ibid., p. 49.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

By adopting this position, the government is essentially side-tracking an important component of a community's development, that of adequate social services for smaller settlements.

Another health related problem concerns the health of workers, especially in the mining industry. While companies and governments still question the truthfulness of such a situation, very little is being done to verify it once and for all. Such an attitude, hardly understandable from industrial groups, is unacceptable from the government.

The social importance of education as a major component of community development must be recognized. The main argument is that knowledge, and most importantly awareness, stimulate interactions amongst members of a community. In this regard, a major problem of North-eastern Ontario resides in the lack of relevant regional content in the various educational programs. Once more, the centralized approach in program formulation and the desire for a "standardized" education are the major obstacles. There has been recently a recognition of the necessity for integrating regional characteristics into the design of programs at various educational

levels. Until this is reached, the contribution of education to the development of a regional identity will be minimal.

This situation not only reflects on elementary and secondary levels, but also on college and university training. In this last case, services are less numerous than for the Southern Ontario clientele. It has been widely substantiated by many governmental or private studies that accessibility to higher education is much more limited in frontier regions.

3. Demography and culture

The 1976 Census indicates a total population of 583,770 for the seven districts within Northeastern Ontario. The most populous district is Sudbury with 174,975 inhabitants, followed by Algoma with 122,860.

Overall, the demographic growth rate for the Northeast between 1966 and 1976 has been established at 7.2% (the provincial rate is 18.7%). It must be noted that the highest growth rate of the seven districts occurred in Parry Sound (15.2) which is not always considered by government agencies a Northeastern Ontario district.

Two districts have experienced population declines between 1966 and 1976. They are Cochrane with -0.5% and Timiskaming -7.2%. For the shorter period of 1971 to 1976 a decline has been witnessed in three of the seven districts-Manitoulin -0.2%, Sudbury -3.6% and Timiskaming -5.8%.

Many reasons could be identified to explain the demographic variations. They have to do either with the slow growth of the economy during that period (average annual labour growth rate of -0.2% between 1966 - 1974), the limited diversity of the employment base (resources), the lack of adequate facilities (ex. health services, education, etc...) and the attractiveness of metropolitan areas for younger, more mobile northerners.

A major demographic characteristic of Northeastern Ontario with definite implications for planning is the ethnic diversity of its population. According to the federal Census of 1971, 57.3% of the population living in the area had an origin other than British. For the province of Ontario as such, this percentage is 40.6%. Of all the minorities in Northeastern Ontario, French was numerically the most prominent representing 34.0% of the

total population (200,000 francophones). Residents of other ethnic origins composed 21.0% of the total and native people 2.3% (13,575). These figures would suggest the need for a different approach when proposing strategies for the region. However, as mentioned in a previous section, such is not the case, since providing services to minorities is not perceived as a distinct need by the Province.

A much-discussed issue is in the area of justice. Courts of justice that would serve the French-speaking population have been set up in the Sudbury area and considerations are being given to similar attempts in the district of Cochrane, where over one-half of the population is of French-speaking origin. Two other districts, Nipissing and Timiskaming, both with over one-third of francophones, are for the time being not considered. Although encouraging, these results have been obtained only after several years of lobbying from pressure groups, in particular by ACFO (Association Canadienne-Française de l'Ontario), and should not be seen as government initiatives.

Generally, cultural facilities are lacking in Northeastern Ontario, although major centres like Sudbury, or North Bay are equipped to a degree. While cultural activities are considered essential amenities of southern urban centres of Ontario and efforts are constantly made to better fulfill such needs, there is no indication that any special effort is being proposed for the less populated areas of Northern Ontario, where the situation is often dramatic. No commitments have been made by the province to provide special assistance to this sector.

Of all the ethnic groups in Northeastern Ontario, the native population is without a doubt the most underprivileged. This is reflected in the level of services and facilities they receive from the government. Although they are recognized as a priority problem in many reports and studies, the practical applications show a very different picture. One of the reasons likely lies in the longstanding conflict of jurisdiction between federal and provincial levels as to their respective responsibilities with regard to native people.

Although agreements between levels of government are usually a bureaucratic procedure in the form of trans-

fer of payment or other bi-lateral negotiations, the effects of disagreements often have far-reaching effects.

Another reason behind the poor native status has also to do with the type of approach used when initiating a project for native people.

As is often the case, financial considerations determine priorities; and whenever projects are not considered "profitable", cut backs are used. The James Bay Education Centre is but another example. Located in Moosonee, the Centre was opened in 1969 to try to tackle some of the area's social and economic problems by providing adult-education programs to a mostly native population. Because of a change in government policies in 1977 the Ministry of Education has decided to cut back its yearly grant to a flat \$100,000., stating that the Ministry would not cover any more deficits and that other ways of financing the centre would have to be found. This, in fact, meant applying separately to individual ministries for specific projects. The Board of the Centre declared opposition to such an approach, saying that it cannot continue to operate and plan ahead without knowing where the money was to come from. On Monday, June 6th, 1977, the

8 board members decided to close the Centre until an agreement was reached with the government. According to a Globe and Mail article dated June 8th, 1977, the closing had affected about 400 school pupils who use some of the centre's space, about 45 adult students taking Manpower and academic upgrading courses, and 50 Cree nursery-school children who were taught English at the Centre in preparation for kindergarten. It should also be mentioned that 30 people became temporarily unemployed. At the time, the unemployment rate in Moosonee was 48%.

Since then, agreements have been negotiated and the Centre is back in operation. Nevertheless, it indicates quite accurately the government approach in dealing with the native issue. Again, the province-wide standardized educational strategy proved totally inadequate. Despite the solution of that particular case, examples such as these are likely to happen again, for no substantial change has been made in the present provincial strategy.

4. Environmental

Industrial pollution of Northern Ontario has been a well-publicized issue in the past few years, particu-

larly with regard to the poisoning of major river systems and its effects on the health of individuals (again mostly natives). The infamous case of the mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon river system by the Reed Paper Company, is certainly the best known case. The effects of mercury contamination on the Grassy Narrows and Whitedog Indian bands have created much controversy in the medical and political worlds. Interestingly enough, despite the flow of words generated, little has been done to legislate and regulate the majority of industrial pollution sources.

On June 6th, 1977, a liberal candidate in the riding of Cochrane South made public a "secret" provincial government report stating that the mercury level of the Kapuskasing River system was higher than what is legally "acceptable". The report was in fact not dealing only with the Kapuskasing River, but with all the rivers which are used by pulp and paper companies.

The problem of acid rain is also a growing preoccupation in most areas of the North. While this is an international problem, Ontario residents are expecting rapid and strong government representation to solve the problem.

In the area of mining, the protection of workers' health is an increasingly important issue, particularly since studies have clearly shown the higher incidence of lung respiratory diseases among miners. Cases of compensation have been granted although most of them are still "causes célèbres" and have not led to full recognition before the Compensation Board.

These facts clearly indicate the lack of government control with regard to health and environmental protection. Measures are needed to ensure that regulations are being implemented. Although the attitude, not only of industries, but of governments and of the majority of citizens, has always been "economic-development-at-any cost", it is now beginning to change. Other considerations are being taken into account when evaluating the costs of a project.

Another negative environmental impact has been the depletion of forest resources. Up to a recent past, reforestation was purely incidental. It was felt that natural regeneration of forests was sufficient. However, increased demands for wood and paper products have caused an intensification of activities and it is now recognized

as essential that, in order to insure the survival of that activity in the years to come, measures must be taken.

In 1962, responsibility for regeneration and stand management was transferred from industry to the province. But as stated in a recent consultant report: "The separation of the harvesting and regeneration responsibilities has greatly complicated forest management in Ontario". (71)

According to an evaluation done by the Canadian Council on Rural Development, it was estimated that only one third of the exploited forest lands received some form of silvicultural treatment. The rest was either left to natural regeneration or permanently left out of production. (72)

71 Canada. F.L.C. Reed and Associates. Forest Management in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Forestry Service, 1978.

72 Conseil Canadien en Développement Rural. L'Incidence des Forêts Canadiennes sur la Main d'Oeuvre et la Stabilité Economique. Ottawa: CCDR, 1978.

It is interesting to note that government has again decided to revert back to its pre-1962 approach by returning responsibility for forest rejuvenation to companies. But this time, these private enterprises will receive public financial support, under the Forest Management Agreements (FMA's). Under this program, companies will receive so much per acre, depending on the agreement negotiated, to carry out reforestation programs.

This is clearly to the advantage of companies who have lobbied extensively to remove government intervention at their operational level. Furthermore, some industries stand to make a substantial profit from their agreement as the per acre amount negotiated to carry out reforestation is well above the real cost. A researcher at the Great Lakes Forest Research Centre in Sault Ste-Marie, during a telephone conversation, estimated that in the case of Abitibi Paper in Iroquois Falls and Smooth Rock Falls, the rate is 4 to 5 times over the cost.

A final constraint on the environment is the evergrowing demand for recreational space. Once again, the lack of controls has been detrimental in many areas. The capacity of an ecosystem to adapt to human pressures

is limited. It is therefore not a question of imposing control for the sake of doing so, but with the necessity in mind of preserving an environment which could be enjoyed for the longest possible time. Even in areas as sparsely populated as upper Northeastern Ontario, the effects of unregulated cottaging are dramatic. Lake pollution often represents a health hazard. Coupled with the increase in the impact of acid rain, the future of recreation that many see as a complementary economic activity may look bleak.

CONCLUSION

We have said at the beginning of Chapter 2 that Northeastern Ontario was part of a larger Canadian mid-northern region. The overview of the northeast indeed showed that many points of common relevance exist. These are particularly obvious in areas such as industrial structure, with economic activities being based on resources through a network of single-industry towns; with the social structure also being of a similar nature i.e. high population turnovers, poor education and health services; lack of employment opportunities for certain groups such as women, youth, natives. Also common is

the pressure being placed on a fragile physical environment and the little consideration or protection it receives because it is not largely populated.

If a similar examination was to be made of other provincial northern areas, for instance Northwestern Québec or Northern Manitoba, similar characteristics to that of Northeastern Ontario would likely appear. It is then the sum of these common features that makes up the Canadian Mid-North.

SECTION I. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 3. Intervention: the present and the future.

3.1 The present problem-solving approaches in Northeastern Ontario.

In the previous section, the broad overview of Northeastern Ontario has shown great variations in the quality of regional life. Despite these shortcomings, due mostly to improper planning strategies, current projections are that Northeastern Ontario will develop. The region is thus confronted with a growth situation which necessitates appropriate planning decisions. The introductory section of the Design for Development report, which will be examined later in this section, summarizes the situation well:

"During the last few decades, the Northeast has experienced economic and social growth below the expectations of the region's residents and the provincial government. This is evidenced by a number of problems: economic instability, lack of employment opportunities, unplanned settlement patterns, higher living costs, and some shortcomings in the level of social services. On the other hand, the region possesses significant economic potential: mineral and forest resources, recreation and tourist opportunities, agricultural land and, to a lesser extent, underemployed human resources". (73)

73 Ontario. Design for Development. Ibid., p. 3.

The task ahead, then, is to look briefly at the past and present planning approaches of the Ontario government. As described in the previous chapter, the philosophy of the current policy-makers lies in a strong reliance on the forces of both private enterprise and a centralized public sector. Besides rendering the decision-making process a vague notion for most residents throughout the province the process further emphasizes, as far as the provincial North is concerned, the remoteness which characterizes it. In an address to a conference held in Sudbury in 1976, the chairman of the Ontario Economic Council, talking on the growing sense of concern and frustration felt in many Canadian regions, declared:

"The first, which needs little elaboration, is simply the growing sense of remoteness and neglect felt by the ordinary citizen vis-à-vis fast growing, ever more complex and interventionist Provincial and Federal governments". (74)

While this statement fails to qualify the nature of the government role as well as the impact of corporate

74 Ontario. Ontario Economic Council. Proceedings of the Conference on Regional Development in Northeastern Ontario. OEC, 1976.

decisions, it leads the way to the explanation of the reasons for the failure of public policies and the planning approach.

For the purpose of overall planning, the Province of Ontario has been divided into five regions - Southwestern, Eastern, Central, Northwestern and Northeastern Ontario. For each of these regions, the formulation of broad development guidelines is the responsibility of the Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs. (75) In each case, a similar planning approach was chosen and, in April 1966, a program called Design for Development was set up. The initial task consisted of an investigation of each planning region to gather information. Once the information was obtained, it was felt that an identification of the problems and needs would appear. Government planners would then propose

75 The Ministry was reorganized in 1979 and the Intergovernmental Affairs were taken away from the existing field of responsibilities. Later on in the chapter, the creation of a Ministry of Northern Affairs will also be examined in terms of its impact on planning and development in the north.

a regional development strategy. That scenario suited the provincial understanding of regional planning and the machinery was put in motion.

All of the studies for the five planning regions were completed in March 1976, with the presentation of the final report, which dealt with Northeastern Ontario. To understand the mechanics and the reasons for failure of the Ontario government's only large-scale planning effort in the last few decades, it is useful to review the course of events in Northeastern Ontario.

Northeastern Ontario encompasses seven districts: Parry Sound, Nipissing, Sudbury, Timiskaming, Manitoulin, Algoma and Cochrane. In 1971, in order to come up with a regional strategy that would fulfill the needs of the Northeast, a first stage in the Design for Development program was completed. That first report was entitled Design for Development. Northeastern Ontario, Phase I. Analysis. The objective of the document was to identify the major regional needs as well as its resource potential in order to prioritize the specific actions to be undertaken. The study considered 30 communities which it labelled as "growth centers" and which

contained at the time 63% of the total regional population. As a result of that analysis, the report contained a list of 82 objectives: 10 concerning economics; 12 dealing with transportation and communications; 16 with the environment; 9 in the area of welfare; 11 concerned with public security; 3 with health; 5 with education and 16 with aspects of culture and recreation.

The report and its many recommendations, through a review process of its content, and accompanied by further research into specific aspects, led in March 1976 to the publication of the Northeastern Ontario Regional Strategy. As indicated in a summary statement accompanying the report, the objective of that planning exercise was to establish "guidelines to encourage the orderly social and economic development of the area to the mutual satisfaction of the people and the government". These guidelines are as follows:

- "1. That the people of the Northeast should have adequate access to the region's social and economic opportunities;
2. That private enterprise has a vital role to play in the development of the Northeast;
3. That regional resource policies, while encouraging development of natural resources should be consistent with environmental constraints;
4. That the expenditures of all levels of government should be planned and co-ordinated for the benefit of all residents in the region;
5. That the planning process should be a partnership between the people of the region, its municipalities, and the Government of Ontario". (76)

Armed with these rather vague guidelines, planners designed a regional strategy which comprised proposals in three categories: economic, social and spatial. The 36 recommendations were formulated to allow for the pursuit of development goals which, if attained, could in turn direct the growth of the 25 years ahead.

As the report states:

"The expansion and diversification of the regional economy will reduce the economic instability of the region. The moderate additional growth in total population could support higher levels and quality of social and community services. Growth of the largest urban centres would reinforce their role in providing specialized services for their regions. The increased growth among smaller urban centres would better enable them to support certain additional services". (77)

While stating that the strategies proposed were not to be seen as the "confirmed provincial government policy", the lack of any other attempt at providing overall guidelines for planning in Northeastern Ontario gave the report an official character. The unclear "status" of the document generated various reactions from regional interest groups who were generally concerned with the absence of a clear policy statement. Such lack contributed substantially to creating more confusion in the public mind about the direction of government intervention. In fact, at that time, residents and municipal officials were led to believe that the regional strategy would effectively be implemented. What was kept secret from the public by government officials was the decision

already made to end the Design for Development program. It could therefore be argued that the sole reason for the publication of the Northeastern Ontario strategy was to complete the overall provincial Design for Development process before dismantling the team of researchers. These civil servants were given basically three months, from December 1975 to March 1976, to synthesize whatever information was available into a development strategy. This rush may partially account for the report's overall weakness.

Even if no official confirmation of the disbandment of the Design for Development team was ever made, the relocation of most personnel to other duties within the ministry indicated the government's decision. While no reasons were ever officially known, possible explanations for the decision have been proposed. One concerns the extreme complexity of the process, even if the *raison d'être* was altogether simple, i.e. "to permit the evolution of a rational and effective regional development scheme throughout the province". (78)

78 Mangan, Jim. Area government: Its Implementation in Northern Ontario. Senior Honours Essay, Carleton University, 1973.

Inefficiency is often characteristic of government planning efforts due to the low level of co-ordination being achieved among ministerial groups. The presence of a number of ministries, each with their own policies and programs and equipped with certain implementation powers is then a second major explanation for the failure of the Design for Development program. As Valerie Spencer in her work on unorganized territories in Northern Ontario points out:

"It is important to remember that provincial agencies are separate and complete bodies, with each agency being responsible to, and the responsibility of, its own Minister. (...), each agency is considered to be fully equipped to carry out its mandate within the confines of appropriate statutes and without aid from other government departments". (79)

This is to say that the structure of the ministries themselves does not promote communications and interactions within the government. Moreover, there is often an unwillingness to collaborate for fear of jeopardizing the position of individual ministries, even if it could prove beneficial to the residents of an area.

79 Spencer, Ibid.

A case in point is the Sault North controversy mentioned previously in this paper.

A third possible explanation for the low-key impact of the report may originate from the non-interventionist stand of the Ontario Conservative government in the area of planning for resource regions. Northeastern Ontario being one such region, private interest are given substantial autonomy and assume the role of "promoters" of development. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that economic considerations receive priority over concerns such as environmental and social. In fact, although still shy of a clear policy-statement on non-economic aspects, the Design for Development report was the first integrated attempt at dealing with social and environmental matters from a planning perspective.

In this regard, it is unfortunate that the program came to an end so abruptly. As a consequence, the process merely produced another in a series of "shelf-destined" exercises undertaken on Northern Ontario in the past few decades.

But irrespective of what the main cause or causes of the Design for Development failure may have been, one factor is consistently present throughout all; it is the absence of the local level in either the policy-making or decision-making processes. Higher echelons of the government have consistently acted as if the local level was mere tokenism and incapable of assuming any role in matters such as planning and regional development. In fact, this attitude of the government almost proved itself right insofar as it prevented any major changes in the local government structure for a long time, which indeed contributed to their increased obsolescence. At one point, not only were they less and less equipped to fulfill the functions expected of them by the residents, but it was also increasingly difficult to cope with the complexity of provincial bodies.

This situation is still dramatic in Northern Ontario where local governments are remote, small and scattered. To alleviate that problem two approaches are possible:

1. the top-down approach, i.e. the Design for Development type of program, or

2. the bottom-up, i.e. by re-structuring the territory of Northern Ontario into more efficient units, or the "area-ization". This concept is slowly making progress, partially through the restructuring or consolidation of certain municipalities. (e.g. Sudbury, Timmins, North Bay, Val Rita - Harty...)

The subject of area government for Northern Ontario has been previously addressed in many reports and some of the recommendations that have then been made dealt with the question of provision of services to the residents. Chapter 3.2 of this thesis will examine in more detail the issue of area government for the North. It should be pointed out here that nothing ever happened with the recommendations contained in these previous reports, possibly because this would have created a shift in emphasis away from the free enterprise openland policy, altogether entirely out of the control of local governments.

In one of his books dealing with the question of local government, Donald Rowat stated:

"One cannot expect citizens to endure patiently either the non-supplying or the inefficient supplying of important social services merely for the sake of the theoretical and intangible objective of keeping democracy at home". (80)

Although this statement was meant to be indicative of the impasse in which local government found itself by the end of the Second World War, it expresses a situation that prevails under the present system of local government. In fact the situation is in part the result of the interplay of three factors which are associated with increasing industrialization and which have broken down the traditional role of local government. These factors are population growth, population mobility and the impact of modern technology. (81) Rowat explains the phenomenon in much the same terms pointing out that rural units were created before rapid transit and the shrinking of time - distance generally, due to better transportation and are thus small. But in this age of rapid transit and

80 Rowat, Donald C. Your Local Government.
Toronto: MacMillan Co. Ltd., 1962.

81 Plunkett, T.J. Urban Canada and Its Government.
Toronto: MacMillan, 1968.

the welfare state, many municipalities are too small to provide the staff and finances needed for local government. (82)

Proof of this fact can be seen in the large number of "ad hoc" bodies which have been created to serve regions but which are under provincial rather than local control due to the limitations of the local units. Rowat notes that the biggest infringements on local autonomy have occurred in the areas of education, health and welfare. Highways, bridges and liquor control have also been taken over by the Provincial government and snow removal on main roads, assessment and administration of justice have just been or are in the process of change. (83)

As of late, the government has not taken any new initiative on the issue of local government itself. It has in fact been mostly preoccupied with reforms in certain areas of municipal affairs such as in planning through a review of the Planning Act, which led in May 1979

82 Rowat, Donald C. The Canadian Municipal System.
Toronto: MacMillan Co. Ltd., 1969.

83 Ibid., p. 48.

to the presentation of a White Paper.

While the White Paper contains promising perspectives for many small northern communities in that it proposes that certain powers be delegated from the province, it does not deal per se with the question of local or area governments. In fact, the government position on a recommendation leading even only to regional co-ordinated initiatives are not well perceived. For instance, on the question of permanent inter-regional planning committees, the province's reaction is that giving recognition to such bodies would create yet another level of government. It is quite clear that the government does not wish to consider, at the present time, any reform that would create a more appropriate level for the vast territories and dispersed population living in Northern Ontario.

In conclusion 24 of the White Paper, it is stated with no ambiguity that unorganized territories will remain entirely under the control of the province's planning agencies. The entire section 7 of the White Paper, which deals with the particularities of Northern Ontario, does not propose any fundamental change to the present

planning system. In fact, examples of many situations throughout the North indicate clearly that no legislated change will be put forward.

In a document entitled "Local government options" for the Sault Ste-Marie North Planning Area also released in May 1979, the provincial government proposed different alternatives to residents of the 31 unorganized townships - without having involved the residents concerned in any significant way and leaving them in the dark as to the best course of actions for the long term. At the same time, it was expecting them to decide what was best for them although they had never been part of any decision-making before. As mentioned previously in this thesis, these were the people that had been struggling for almost 10 years in order to get some support from the province concerning their situation.

Also in the report, a short section hints at what the position of the province now is vis-à-vis local government reforms in northern unorganized areas. The guidelines are as follows:

1. Most areas with substantial population development or patented lands should be organized.
2. There should be local support for organization.
3. The residents should be represented by an elected council.
4. A ward system is desirable for a municipality with several distinct settlement areas.
5. A municipality's outer boundaries should reflect community needs and identities.
6. There should be a suitable population and assessment base.
7. A municipality should be large enough to have strong representation on district boards.
8. A municipality should be large enough to have a strong voice in local provincial relations.

These guidelines constitute the latest sign of the current perception of the provincial government and leave little doubt as to the direction local government is going to take.

Prior to the release of the Sault North proposals by the Local Government Division of Intergovernmental Affairs, another document dealing with representation in unorganized areas was made public. This time, it was the brainchild of Ministry of Northern Affairs and it dealt with the creation of Northern Local Services

Boards. In reality, this idea is a follow-up of the aborted Bill 102, the "Northern Communities Act", whose draft was tabled and withdrawn a few years back.

The intent of these boards would be "to help people living in communities not organized as municipalities to obtain some of their basic needs like fire protection". (84) The board would be a legally-constituted body which would act on behalf of an area's residents and which would arrange for the provision of certain necessary services. Essentially, it is a self-help program in that the board would be allowed to raise money locally, sums that would be matched by the government on an even dollar basis.

Although long term objectives for that particular proposal have not been elaborated upon by the Ministry, it would seem that the initiative, while potentially relieving some of the unorganized areas' pressing needs, would only postpone the definition of a permanent solu-

84 Ontario. Ministry of Northern Affairs. Outline of the Services Boards. Toronto: MNA, March 1979.

tion to the need for local government reform in Northern Ontario.

All in all, it remains that the present planning approach suffers from many weaknesses which, to summarize, could be regrouped under the following features:

- ✓ 1. The physical and mental remoteness of northern communities from decision centres, which leads to situations of misunderstanding and frustration among residents and local civic leaders.
- 2. The inadequacy of the planning tools being presently used by the provincial government to deal with the rather peculiar situation of Northern Ontario communities in terms of economic base, employment patterns, population, social infrastructure and so on. Studies and reports based on southern terms of reference and more often than not carried out by people without first hand knowledge of the area often only satisfy the politician's needs.
- 3. The lack of an overall strategy among the multitude of ministries and agencies involved with one aspect or another of development in Northern Ontario makes the process obscure to taxpayers and part-time municipal leaders. Very often, and seemingly so on purpose, government ministries refuse to do away with some of their powers or responsibilities for fear of jeopardizing their budgetary requests. On the other hand, no one ministry seems to have the mandate nor the budget to co-ordinate efficiently.

4. Finally, the difficulty the government seems to have in going from the policy-making stage to the programmation and implementation stages. Noteworthy examples are numerous: the failure to arrive at an acceptable compromise with regard to local government powers; the incapacity of the government in attracting diversified economic activities to the North; their unwillingness in applying environmental protection measures; or freight rates structures which clearly put northern enterprises at a disadvantage.

The fact that improvements have taken place over the last few years cannot be denied. However, it becomes more and more apparent that these improvements often take the form of small, isolated interventions. For instance, what good is an industrial park if you cannot attract industries or a new upgraded road if it is to reach a community about to suffer severe economic and demographic decline?

The change needed is more fundamental and touches the structure, the distribution of powers and the roles of many decision-making institutions, be they public or private.

SECTION I. PROBLEM DEFINITION

Chapter 3. Intervention: the present and the future.

3.2 The need for a new approach.

"The economics of extraction thus develops an atmosphere in which much of the local population feels exploited, under-privileged, alienated and unable to control either their own destiny or that of the region. Local elites play a minor role in decision-making. (85)

This statement summarizes well the essence of the northern development problem. On the one hand, we find the resource-oriented nature of the economy which heavily relies on extraction, while on the other, decisions affecting both the residents and the region's future are remote-controlled by unidentifiable external forces.

As we have seen in the previous section, the current system is essentially characterized by two elements. First is the strong reliance on the dynamics of the private sector. This is a situation that affects both

85 Weller, G.R. "Hinterland Politics: The Case of Northwestern Ontario", in Canadian Journal of Political Sciences. December 1977.

the policy design and the implementation stages of development which has a far-reaching impact in frontier regions where one finds a concentration of one industry towns. Secondly, there is the strongly centralized public sector which, as we have said, satisfies itself with a corrective role and which, so far, has failed to recognize the dynamics and merits of the local and regional approaches.

From those elements originate the sense of remoteness felt by northern residents. As Weller implies in his statement, the population is often seen merely as an input into the production process. Knowing that resource industries have a record of provoking boom and bust cycles, it is not surprising to see northern residents and local institutions become increasingly alienated spectators of their own development.

The remainder of this thesis will put forward solutions to this problem of alienation. It also intends to examine how to correct the four observations described at the end of chapter 3.1. Briefly they are:

1. Mental and physical remoteness of northern communities.
2. Inadequacy of current planning tools.
3. Absence of an overall, coordinated planning strategy for Northeastern Ontario.
4. Difficulty in going from policy to program.

Obviously, to elaborate solutions that would tackle efficiently these four problem areas is no small task. Many possible propositions could advantageously be made and with, it is assumed, potentially positive results.

This thesis will propose two fundamental changes which, if implemented, would substantially contribute to alleviating this sense of alienation. These changes do not in themselves shatter the foundation of our present system. They simply propose this: in the first case, a redefinition of the role of the local level of government in the handling of decisions, and in the second, the introduction of a planning and policy tool at the local and regional levels, i.e. the regional research centre. This author believes that a redefinition of the role of local government would contribute substantially to the solution of observations 1 and 4 while the regional

research centre would be instrumental in correcting the situation described in 2 and 3.

Since the topic of this thesis is to elaborate on the latter (86), the issue of local government reform will not be dealt with in detail. (87) However, as the two are seen as closely interrelated, the reader will nevertheless be introduced to some aspects of this reform. Although each could be implemented independently from one another with some measure of success, it is only through the achievement of both changes that the maximum advantage for Northeastern Ontario could be gained. The importance of the relationship between the two may not at first glance be obvious. However, they should simply be seen in terms of their complementarity, i.e. the regional research centre being the most appropriate tool for providing information and advice to a renewed lo-

86 The structure and functions of the regional research centre will be examined in Chapter 5.

— 87 For a detailed discussion of the appropriate type of local government reform in Northern Ontario to which this author wholeheartedly subscribe, the reader is referred to chapter IV of the Canadian Council on Rural Development report "A Development Strategy for the Mid-Canada". Ottawa 1976.

cal level of government.

It is necessary at this stage to elaborate upon some of the details of that local government reform. As previously stated, this reform is seen as essential in order to minimize the feeling of alienation originating from the weakness of northerners' input in determining their own future.

The examination conducted in chapter 3.1 of the performance of the provincial government in restructuring the local level has demonstrated the unwillingness of the province to do away with some of its own powers. At most was it willing to consider a redistribution of powers to a "new" level of government, the regional municipality level. But this solution, despite potential merits, had no relevance for most territories within Northeastern Ontario. The major reason for this is of course the fact that a scattered population over a vast expense of land would render futile any attempt by a regional municipality to maximize the access and the services functions that it would be established to pursue. In this case, the irrelevance of this approach to northern areas is particularly noticeable. It would make considerably more

sense to attribute to local governments the resources to assume new responsibilities for matters of importance within their boundaries. Regional issues could be tackled by existing provincial government agencies, providing that they benefit from the forum and expertise made available through the regional research centre.

In light of the failure of the regional government approach in northern areas, the course of action of the provincial government has been haphazard. In most instances, it has allowed its various agencies to take over responsibility for the services thereby weakening the municipal structure. Another significant but less prevalent tendency has been to increase the number of special-purpose bodies (i.e. health boards, education, social services, etc...) but without widening to any useful extent their capacity to make decisions. These ad-hoc bodies remain largely the creatures of a provincial ministry to which they are financially and structurally accountable. This approach has in fact been questioned by a number of individuals including many politicians. The major criticism is well represented in a quote by Darcy McKeough, former Minister of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs in which he says that there are too many

special bodies and commissions in the Province's municipalities which only "obscure the accountability of councils and impede comprehensive priority setting". (88)

Despite the fact that McKeough's motives as a provincial minister may, in the long run have been to pursue an even greater centralization in the name of efficiency, his observations remain appropriate. Local governments have never been in a position to fully assume a meaningful role.

In his discussion of the issue, Donald Rowat has suggested that provincial-municipal relations must be rearranged and local government reorganized so that municipalities supply a significant part of government services with reasonable efficiency. (89)

However, efficiency is an abstract term which, if interpreted in its broadest sense, might lead to an

— 88 Article in The Daily Press "Local Government System Changing to meet needs", Timmins, June 20, 1973. p. 1.

89 Rowat, D. The Canadian Municipal System. Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1969. p. 50.

unacceptable degree of centralization and bureaucratic control. Horace Brittain puts it this way: "Efficiency is a word of many interpretations. It would be a distinct loss if mechanical efficiency were gained only at the expense of democratic control". (90)

Brittain's thesis was of course that the more remote from the local level the decision-making process, the less meaningful it becomes. And it is with this in mind that an appreciation of the validity of having regional governments is being expressed. For many, including this author, proposals in that sense pertaining to Northeastern Ontario were to be seen more as compromises intended to whittle away opposition than genuine efforts to address regional needs.

J. Stefan Dupre sees the situation as one of bilateral frustration where parochial interests have cut off local government from very important activities leaving these to be taken over by the special-purpose bo-

90 Brittain, H.L. Local Government in Canada.
Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951.

dies through which decisions are imposed upon local governments via conditional grants.

"Regional government has tremendous political implications because it poses a direct challenge to two kinds of interest: the parochial interests that benefit from sacrosanct local boundaries, and the specialized interests which, playing on the consequent weakness of local government, have been able to insulate their function from the priority-making process through a combination of conditional grants and special-purpose governments. The result is that the overall politics of regional government, to coin another horrendous term, is the politics of bilateral frustration". (91)

According to him, the ideal solution lies in creating area governments with boundaries large enough to oblige the special-purpose governments to function as a part of the regional priority-making process. Dupré also says this measure would give the local governments a much stronger fiscal base than they have at the present time. (92)

91 Dupré, J.S. "The Political Dimensions of Regional Government", in Politics and Government of Urban Canada: Selected Readings. Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1972.

92 Ibid., p. 287.

In that regard, his solution would be efficient. Efficiency in this sense means that the number of local governments would be reduced drastically such that the provincial government would be much closer to "local" governments permitting more effective liaison between the two levels. The provincial ministries then would not have to deal with multiple local governments in order to get certain jobs done. The present system, which is slow, costly and at times highly frustrating would, under the ideal scheme, become efficient in reducing the time interval between the conception of an idea and its application.

Yet, it is precisely over this question of efficiency that his ideal becomes less appealing. One must remember that there are two elements to consider in any government. One is access, the other services. In this case, the function of services may be greatly improved through increased efficiency. For instance, a decrease in the number of local governments renders the task of various ministries far simpler for it is less difficult to deal with sixty groups than with nine hundred. The point made here is that the area government approach is a form of centralization in that local political power is concentrated in fewer and fewer governments which are clo-

ser and closer to the provincial government. And the fewer the local governments the easier it is for the bureaucracies to be "efficient".

But the problem arises from the fact that with fewer local governments, the distance between the individual and his local government increases. If the boundaries of these new "communities" transcend those which the majority of people can relate to, they are unlikely to participate. Such a situation would then, as far as the individuals are concerned, only perpetuate the feelings of alienation and remoteness already mentioned. What's more, the system would prove itself inefficient in that it would not produce the feedback that the government needs in order to respond to the people's needs.

The incapacity of the new level of government to satisfy the needs of individuals to easy access coupled with the increased obsolescence of the original local government may only reinforce the "situation where the Ministries become the setters of priorities rather than institutions of response to local needs, and the local governments become the rubber stamps of the Ministries rather than the spokesmen of the citizens". (93)

In light of these observations, it is clear that this thesis does not, at this time, consider a new level of government efficient nor desirable. It would indeed cause prejudice to residents and local institutions of Northeastern Ontario to create a more complex system of government while they were never able to relate to and take advantage of a simpler one in the first place. It is also obvious that trying to develop a new structure would be premature insofar as such drastic change would generate more confusion as to the decision process and the respective roles of each component.

It should also be said that a new political level would likely run into serious problems of representation, because of the distances between communities that may form the new unit. Above and beyond this, a more severe problem would likely be to find a sufficient number of valuable candidates to fill the new political positions. A major characteristic of local government has always been the relative lack of interest of residents in assuming responsibilities. This is in great part due, at least in Northern Ontario, to the "petty" role given to municipal politicians.

This thesis proposes that the major task at hand is the education of the local elite through the provision of services originating from within the region. This education implies that they have access to information as well as to the mechanisms to transform this information and their intuitive knowledge of the local scene into concrete actions. To achieve this two major tools are available: first, the existing provincial government agencies in the region with their knowledge of the provincial scene and their capacity to input directly into the decision process, and second the proposed regional research centre with a major role as consultant to both local and provincial/federal bodies through the provision of expertise and relevant information to those political levels. This is in line with the ideology that in addition to the traditional service functions of the governments, mostly provincial and federal, "we must develop a new capacity for liaison with communities, co-ordination of initiatives and programmes, and the provision of technical, managerial, and related support structures for locally-initiated enterprise". (94)

94 Rees, W.E. "Development and Planning North of 60: Past and Future", in Northern Transitions, volume II, ed. by Rob. Keith and J. Wright. Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978.

A direct consequence of the establishment of a regional research centre in an area such as Northeastern Ontario may well be, in the long run, to decrease the attitude of dependency so characteristic of small communities. As expressed by Weller:

"A politics of dependency thus developed with very few of the communities experiencing real self-government and with many residents developing the feeling that only those from outside the region had the requisite skills to govern or offer advice to the North". (95)

By making available directly within the region and on a permanent basis the resources of qualified personnel in the different fields of particular interests to Mid-Northern regions, the outcome may be that regional research centres will eventually allow the region to become more self supporting. As the first part of chapter 5 will show, different functions can be attributed to such centres.

But it remains that overall, these centres will provide for a much sounder basis for decision-making by

95 Weller, G.R. Ibid., p. 752.

allowing policies and programs to be drafted regionally while taking advantage of direct lines of communication with both the local communities and the provincial agencies.

While it may be argued that reorganizing the government structure to satisfy northern aspirations and desires could have been more meaningfully done at the region's level by introducing regional governments, this thesis has chosen to advocate the local level as a better forum.

The main reasons for leaving aside the introduction of a regional government structure have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. In summary, they were the difficulty, because of scattered population and the size of the area, of maximizing the two essential functions of government, access and servicing; the documented difficulty of the current regional municipality system in Ontario in conciliating local expectations with the goal of increased efficiency they were created to achieve; the risk of introducing a completely new level of government in an area where the existing ones were not fully understood and utilized; the problems of achieving a meaningful level of local political representation and, by extension, of ensuring that residents can relate to the new level through their representative(s).

SECTION II. REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE: THE CONCEPT

Chapter 4. A synopsis of Some non-governmental Research Efforts.

This chapter intends to provide the reader with background information on some research operations with a regional focus in Canada. As previously stated, the history of Canadian initiatives in that field is less than impressive. The failure is particularly dramatic when it comes to dealing with the Canadian North and Mid-North. In general, previous attempts have been confined within university settings. Although promising in terms of their objectives, they suffer from two major drawbacks, i.e. the difficulty of accommodating the dynamics of multidisciplinarity and, more importantly, the financing of their operations. It must also be said that research done within the confines of academia has had up to now some difficulty in gaining recognition. It seems that either because of a lack of pragmatism or because of the tendency of university research to adopt what government institutions consider radical stands, the results of such research have rarely reached beyond the walls of the university. /

The increasing external demand for greater relevance in university research has been instrumental in bringing more serious consideration to the multidisciplinary approach. Part of the chapter will deal with a case example which this author considers a milestone in the team approach within the university environment namely the Center for Settlement Studies of the University of Manitoba. Despite its unfortunate fate, it remains one of Canada's most thorough attempts at developing a research institution dealing with frontier regions. Because of this, the Center for Settlement Studies model is considered highly relevant to the concept developed in this thesis. However, certain weaknesses have contributed somewhat to its failure. These will be briefly examined later on in this chapter.

Three other sources will be examined to assist in the definition of the regional research centre concept. The Mid-Canada Development Foundation is important insofar as it sheds light on Canada's Mid-North by putting in perspective some of its characteristics and problems. The Foundation was also instrumental in proposing a global development concept for the Mid-North which, although directed towards intensive resource development, had at least the merit of introducing the necessity of planning.

Another example, used mostly because of its philosophy of community action, is the Antigonish Movement as applied through the Coady Institute in Nova Scotia. Even if not located within the defined Mid-North, this case is seen as relevant because of the similarities between the communities involved there and those of the Mid-North. In essence they are both highly dependant on external forces and are characterized by staple economies. In the long-run, it is hoped that the Antigonish approach will be widely accepted in the field of community planning across the Mid-North.

A last source originates from the federal government and takes the form of an in-house proposal which was prepared by a staff member of the former Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, Audrey Stewart. The decision by the federal government to terminate the operations of the ministry had an obvious impact on the Stewart proposal. While the focus of the proposal, dealing with the urban process, is different from the substantive concern of this thesis, the idea of a decentralized and semi-autonomous network of centres is one which deserves serious consideration in thinking about the research needs of the Mid-North.

Other examples could be used, and in fact some were, in defining the components of the regional research centre. In that regard, it has been mentioned in the previous section that the proposal for local government reform drew on the position developed by the Canadian Council on Rural Development. Other experiences have also been examined and have provided useful information. They include the Bureau of Municipal Research of Ontario, le Centre D'Etudes Nordiques de l'Université Laval, the Institute for Northern Studies in Saskatchewan, le Centre de Recherche du Moyen-Nord of l'Université du Québec in Chicoutimi, and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee in Ottawa.

It was felt that an examination in this chapter of their structure, approach and relevancy would not add materially to the information base of this thesis. Indeed the four examples that will be looked at constitute a good cross-section of the different models of research operations. The Center for Settlement Studies is university-based with a strong emphasis on academic research; the Coady Institute is also a university-based model but with a more pragmatic or technical community approach; the Mid-Canada Development Foundation is considered a

private sector model, although it was supported partially with public funds; and the Stewart proposal would have been a government initiated operation. Each can contribute something important to the development of a model which is suitable for the Canadian Mid-North.

Those examples will only be examined in terms of what is obviously relevant vis-à-vis the regional research centre.

CENTER FOR SETTLEMENT STUDIES

The Center for Settlement Studies originated at a meeting held at the University of Manitoba on December 3, 1966. The group of 41 staff members, coming from 18 departments, perceived the need for an interdisciplinary approach focusing on the study of human settlement along Canada's northern resource frontier. The lack of research on the problems of human settlements in that area, and the potentially important role of frontier regions in Canada's development were the two major criteria for selecting the research focus.

Also of importance was an attempt by the University of Manitoba to set up a multi-disciplinary team to

undertake projects related to the topic. It was stated that

"...the identification of a topic of mutual interest and the launching of a many-sided attack on it, provides a method of assembling within a university of limited means a group large and determined enough to make a major contribution to the topic. For one may draw the group not only from a single department, but from several different departments, and even from different faculties". (96)

In order to provide some direction as to the development of a structure and the definition of a broad frame of reference, a multi-disciplinary committee was formed. The mandate was to put forward a proposal that would accommodate each discipline to be involved in the project. Such a task proved a difficult one. Each member tended to view the issue from the standpoint of his own discipline and to bring forward proposals reflecting that view.

After four months of discussion and hard work (January-April 1967), a position paper entitled "Nature

— 96 Doctor H.E. Duckworth, vice-president Academic University of Manitoba. Opening address, December 3, 1966.

and Purposes of Single Enterprise Communities-Proposal for a long-range interdisciplinary study of isolated settlements on Canada's Resource frontier" was released. The initial proposal put forward by the Committee stated that the objectives of a long-range interdisciplinary research effort were to provide information on the creation and development of settlements in frontier areas and to discover and define ways of improving the living conditions of these communities.

"The proposed research program offers an interdisciplinary approach to an inherently complex, multi-faceted problem associated with human settlement on Canada's resource-frontier. The nature of the problem requires many disciplines for its study, each with a specialized view-point but in a research program which synthesizes the information gained by the specialized researchers. In this way, it is expected that a comprehensive grasp of the problem will result". (97)

The completion of the report and the approval of the proposal by a diverse group of professors was a notable achievement. Similarly important was the acceptance of the program by the university community at large and

97 Center for Settlement Studies. Position Paper.
Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, April 1967.

the concrete support from many department heads and faculties. Although the years to come would show the difficulties these people had in arriving at a widely acceptable definition of interdisciplinary work, the agreement on basic principles was sufficient to secure funds for the venture. Three months after the publication of the brief, financial support for the program for an initial period of five years was granted by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

It is precisely over this question of funding that a major criticism of the Center for Settlement Studies can be made. While the promoters of the Center were reasonably successful in tackling the key questions of research focus and team work, they chose to live with the dangers of being funded via a single source. In so doing, they made themselves highly vulnerable to even the smallest change of that agency's policy. An examination of the initial documents as well as the first annual reports demonstrates, at least on paper, a relative unawareness of the pitfalls of that type of financing. It appears that the continuity of the Center was based more on the capacity of maintaining the interdisciplinary spirit within the university than in securing the commitment of other sponsors.

Interestingly, the Center suffered from a paradox, namely that it was in the same position as the single-industry towns for whose dependency it was trying to find solutions.

In raising these criticisms however, the difficulty of following the twists and turns of the federal philosophy with regard to university research should not be overlooked. It was fair to assume that the attitude adopted by the federal government through CMHC's block grant would likely remain in light of the success of the Center during its initial five year period. Unfortunately, as it is mentioned by the Center's director in its final annual report:

"At the very time that the CSS is making what I consider to be excellent progress internally (that is, in its research program), the external environment for such a research center is changing drastically, unpredictably and in some cases, unfavorably". (p. 13)

This experience demonstrates that any future attempt at developing a research centre should be aware of the necessity of multiple funding sources. Stating this of course does not imply that government policies should not be more financially supportive of university or other research efforts.

The experience of the Center for Settlement Studies shows without any doubt the inadequacy of the present government policy in the field of research. And although the case of the University of Manitoba dates back more than nine years, the latest figures released by the European Economic Council (July 1980), show that Canada has one of the worst records of the 18 more industrialized nations in the field of research and development. The governments' attitude in this area is very much a "private enterprise" philosophy. It favors a contract approach whereby those interested in pursuing research efforts would "compete" for limited funds. The idea of universities having to compete in order to get funds is a relatively new phenomenon. If we further consider the fact that research within some of those institutions is even a newer interest, it is unlikely that university scholars will have the energy or even the inclination to invest their efforts in such an uncertain way of raising funds. As it is argued in the Center's final report:

"It must be emphasized that it takes considerable time, persistence and hard work to develop a viable and operative centre for interdisciplinary research in a university environment. (...) It may be argued that contract research can take the place of block-funding. However there are many problems not yet cleared up, such as overhead to cover administrative costs, feast-or-famine flow of contracts, publication restrictions, and difficulty of maintaining a central research focus".
(CSS Final Report p. 4-5)

While there may have been some basis for the government's decision to discontinue block-funding, such as the difficulty of evaluating results in some cases, or the desire to force greater provincial government participation, one cannot but question the validity of such a drastic and undiscriminating switch in policy. In a case like that of the Center for Settlement Studies, it could be argued that even a reduced financial support would have allowed its survival. In fact, in light of the previous quote, it may have been sufficient to guarantee a basic sum to cover overhead and administrative expenses. Under such circumstances, it might then have become feasible to enter the race for contract money, without putting all the pressure on university budgets. But such was not the case and in 1973:

"Following careful consideration, the Policy Committee decided that the Center would not be viable if it depended entirely on contract funds and since no other support was available, reluctantly began to adjust the program toward a possible conclusion of operation".
(Final Report. p.3)

In assessing the future based on the Center's experience, the Policy Committee came to four conclusions that are included in a letter dated January 22, 1975 and sent to Dennis Healy, chairman of the Commission on Graduate Studies in the Humanities and the Social Sciences. The letter identified four trends:

- a) a growing emphasis on contract research with an abandonment of grants-in-aid;
- b) a growing involvement by governments in defining research priorities and the terms under which they will be carried out;
- c) the increasing importance of political and administrative factors in adjudicating research proposals and the growing complexity of the bureaucratic process leading to a decision in the case of a research proposal;
- d) the continuing difficulty of sustaining interdisciplinary research.

These show that any future attempt at establishing a research operation will be difficult, but less so if it becomes capable of diminishing financial and institutional dependence. The review of the Center for Settlement

Studies showed that a program functioning entirely within a university may not be flexible enough in its philosophy or research objectives or structure to adapt to a crisis.

MID-CANADA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

The Mid-Canada Development Corporation was created in 1967 under the joint sponsorship of twelve universities and undertook to organize in August 1969 a conference "to examine the advisability of establishing a nation-wide policy and plan for the development of Canada's Mid-North". The conference, which was held at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, successfully brought together numerous representatives from the university and business sectors. It also generated, in a more limited way, the participation of government representatives.

These delegates had come together to discuss a development plan for Mid-Canada conceived and promoted by Richard Rohmer, in conjunction with a consulting firm, Acres Limited.

While the relationship between this Rohmer-Acres proposal and the present thesis is limited to the broad philosophical aim of the integration of the Mid-North in

Canada's development, it may be useful to provide the reader with some basic information on the proposal. In essence, Rohmer's proposal was to define a new role and develop a new development perspective for Canada's Mid-North. It is important to note that at no time was the appropriateness of continuing with resource development questioned. What the proposal was set up to do was to foster a more efficient, longer term strategy within which development would take place. Under his scheme, the development of Mid-Canada would satisfy four goals:

1. Provision of living space for an expanded population.

Projections prepared by Acres suggested that "... at the present rate of growth, we can expect to have 30 million people by 1985 and 120 million by the year 2067". Without getting into the validity of these estimates, it can be argued that the present population distribution which finds about 5% of the total Canadian population in the Mid-North would allow for only 5 or 6 million people living over the entire area. This in itself affects the validity of at least one element of the proposal: the development of a major Mid-Canada transportation corridor that would run East-West all across the country. Looking at the population projections it is apparent that even

with a substantial increase, the pattern of movement would continue to be North-South, if only because of the market forces.

2. Confirmation of Canadian political Sovereignty in the North.

This goal is a revisited version of the Sir John A. Macdonald dream of a cross-country railroad. By developing more permanent settlements through the North, it is expected that the Canadian presence would confirm its sovereignty and stabilize to an extent the outflow of earnings. It may also, but only in the long-run, appease the feeling of remoteness of northern residents who would, through the establishment of larger regional cities, increase their participation in the political life of the nation. But whether or not this can be achieved as suggested by the proposal remains to be seen.

3. The creation of a national purpose.

This is central to Rohmer's proposal insofar as it needs to succeed the support of as many individuals as possible. The Lakehead Conference intended to initiate this process of conversion and commitment. During his address to the delegates, Mr. Rohmer said:

"Canadians need a new nation-wide purpose - a national goal - like they need new blood. It should be a purpose which relates internally, patriotically, to our own people and their material and spiritual growth. (...) It should be a nation-wide objective which can be stated precisely; is easily understood and readily accepted by all Canadians; is directed to physical creation and building; and is an objective which, although the path to its achievement is strewn with massive problems which may seem insurmountable at the outset, is capable of accomplishment". (98)

Although the principle behind the effort was highly commendable, it is unlikely, in these days of sterile negotiations between the different governments, that we can arrive at a clear understanding on what constitutes a national purpose.

4. Exploitation of northern resource as a basis for national economic expansion.

This goal has been discussed in detail in previous sections of this thesis as being one of the characteristics of the Mid-North. As such, the Rohmer proposal does not necessitate any further discussion of the issue,

98 Rohmer, Richard, Remarks at the Opening banquet of the Mid-Canada Development Conference in Thunder Bay. August 1969.

if only to say that such a goal would likely perpetuate a situation that already exists.

The structure being proposed by Rohmer and which he argues would give the expected results is relatively simple, although the responsibilities are in some cases much too broad. The original plan called for the preparation of a second conference at which several Task Force Committees whose mandate was to study the problems defined during the first conference, would report. Ultimately, it was hoped that the findings of the Task Force Committees would stimulate governments to set up a planning body, charged with defining a national policy and a national plan for Mid-Canada development. This planning body, which Rohmer called the Mid-Canada Research and Planning Corporation would have a five year mandate at the end of which it would be followed by a second crown corporation charged with implementation, and named the Mid-Canada Development Corporation. The powers and responsibilities that this Development Corporation would entertain were enormous. It would "own the lands upon which new cities and industries are built (...). The Development Corporation would undertake, with Canadian private enterprises, the financing and construction of railways, high-

ways, pipelines, communications systems, hospitals, schools, universities, housing, industries and all of the basic elements necessary to implement a plan over a period of years with phasing of development in 5 or 10 year packages". (99)

Whether or not Rohmer's ideas were realistic, the fact remains that the exercise he initiated contributed substantially to the necessity of considering the Mid-North as a whole. This urgency of a global vision was based on the realization that because of poor or no planning, efforts and resources had been wasted. He also made a point of stressing the problems caused by foreign decision-making. In his case, because of the emphasis he was putting on industrial development, the conflict was with the largely american ownership of our resources. This thesis has widened the scope of this point to include the North-South or metropolis-hinterland relationship.

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

What is known today as the Antigonish Movement originated in the early 1930's through the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, then under the direction of Dr. Moses Coady. The program was different from other similar Extension Departments insofar as the focus was not so much on adult education for the sake of education but on adult education as an element of social change and reform. Similarly, the Saint Francis Xavier Extension Department became involved very early with the cooperative movement throughout Eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. It put a new emphasis on cooperative education and gave cooperatives a social significance as well as an economic purpose.

From these efforts of the Department and through many meetings, discussions and conferences amongst those involved and representing a wide range of viewpoints came a unity of thought on the economic problem. A philosophy of social action also started to emerge which would eventually become known as the Antigonish Movement. These individuals were also perceptive enough to realize that universities and colleges did not, and in part still do not,

meet the needs of a vast portion of the population. It became their position that the educational system, and particularly the post-secondary level, was part of the old order in that it was perpetuating established values by catering to an elite. The Extension Department, and especially Dr. Coady, were determined to change that old order on the grounds that the elite had failed in meeting the expectations of a very poor and inadequately serviced region. The basic method of operation of the Department became the following:

"Credit unions, co-operatives, labour unions, and other community organizations became the instruments for the education and development of people. Groups of people were organized to study possible solutions to their problems". (100)

It is precisely in relation to this aspect that the regional research centre concept developed in this thesis will draw from The Antigonish Movement. As stated, despite the geographic distances and differences between communities in the Maritimes and in the Mid-North, there

100 Topshee, G.E. Rev. Annual Report, Extension Department. Antigonish: St-Francis Xavier University, mimeographed, 1978.

emerges a pattern with regard to the social needs of the residents. While the eastern communities are a step ahead because of the on-going application of the Movement for the last 40 or 50 years, it is important that this philosophy of community action be initiated in the remote areas of Mid-North. By establishing the value of self-help and by allowing the people to benefit from the resources of colleges and universities as a reinforcement of this new attitude, it is likely that dependence on governments and other institutions would decrease.

Through its structure, a regional research centre could make available these new tools and thereby promote the development of a new social order. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that the model developed in Antigonish could successfully be applied in other areas. Since 1959, the Coady Institute has offered programs, both at home and abroad, to people interested in studying the Antigonish Movement. Between 1969 and 1977, over 2,000 people mostly from Africa and Latin America, but also from Asia and Canada, enrolled at the Institute for diploma courses or summer courses.

While it would be beyond the immediate task of a Mid-northern research centre to enter into similar aca-

demic training, it could nevertheless apply the same philosophy in its dealings with community groups.

THE STEWART PROPOSAL

This proposal was prepared in 1974 by Audrey Stewart and subsequently submitted to the Research Branch of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. It deals essentially, but in broad terms, with the creation of a network of research centres across the country which would deal with research on urban matters but at a regional level.

It is interesting to note that the proposal was submitted shortly after the "death" of the Center for Settlement Studies which had been funded by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, under the responsibility of the same minister of Urban Affairs, and which had withdrawn financial support to the CSS. This may shed some light on the reception the Stewart proposal seemed to have received.

Nevertheless, it is interesting and useful to note some of the elements of this proposal to realize to what extent they relate well to the components of the Mid-North centres.

The Stewart proposal is based on the premise that the geographical scale at which urban research is being carried is inappropriate. She questions the validity of the present approach whereby research is confined within the rigid boundaries of governments. Her point is to argue that problems do not limit themselves to rigid institutional borders and would be best studied at a more spatially dynamic level. The reader may recognize the similarity of this argument with the one developed in the first chapter of this thesis about the Canadian Mid-North.

Audrey Stewart also points out that "as the Research Branch (of MSUA) developed its research activities", there was a "serious lack of complementary research institutions at the regional level..." (101) She argues that this has serious consequences, in particular the flow of valuable information to and from the regions or between the regions themselves. She argues that a network of research centres could function autonomously from the

101 Canada. Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. Proposal on Regional Research Centres. Mimeo-graphed. Ottawa: MSUA, 1974.

Ministry, and facilitate the flow of information and expertise between the units in the network. While she recognizes that the Ministry is aware of such a need, she also indicates that numerous requests originate from the regions themselves, particularly from universities which are pursuing interdisciplinary projects. Again, on this question of network, a direct parallel can be drawn with the concept developed in this thesis.

Stewart also views her research centres as having a number of characteristics. First they must have a regional focus in order to "readily identify and respond to research needs local to the region and develop the ability to integrate the strands of urban policy in a meaningful situation". (102) The focus of the centre will be on policy matters, emphasizing short term projects both of a responsive and innovative nature. A third characteristic concerns the interdisciplinary composition of the team. She points out that this is essential if there is to be any hope of undertaking comprehensive investigations within a given region. Fourthly is the importance of

102 Ibid., p. 3-4.

being in tune with the surrounding community. Past experiences have shown the frequent inadequacies and shortcomings of research carried out in a "vacuum", i.e. without local or region input. But she also argues that the centres must have easy access to local, provincial and federal government resources to operate effectively. A fifth element is the stress on remaining independent from any one group so as to be in a position to respond as objectively as possible to all needs. Finally, the importance of cooperating with existing regional groups by bringing together their particular interests is a key to the success of the centre.

A substantial part of the document is of great importance to this thesis insofar as it deals with the question of structural relationships with outside institutions. In that section, Stewart looks at various alternatives for association available to the research centres. She rejects the first two, the tri-level committee and the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research, on the basis that in the first case not enough stability would be provided and in the second that it would be too distant from the present CCURR priorities.

She spends more time debating the association with universities to which she grants specific advantages. They offer "access to libraries, to a range of academically-trained specialists, and the possibility of institutional aid in setting up office functions. Also, universities are traditionally places where free research has been allowed". (103) These advantages correspond closely to the evaluation that was made of the Center for Settlement Studies. However, Stewart goes on to list a number of disadvantages to an association with a university, which have also been confirmed by the CSS experience. They include the difficulty of breaking through disciplinary boundaries, the necessity for the centre of belonging to a large bureaucracy with many conflicting interests, and the danger of perceiving the centre as a purely academic venture. A last disadvantage lies in the association of the centre with one university in a region that may contain more than one. She feels this might inhibit the centre's access to interests and abilities from other sources, which may create situations of conflict.

103 Ibid., p. 9.

The last option she considers in her document relates to the independence option and as such, suits best the philosophy of this thesis. She rightly points out that independence would "allow them to evolve within an administrative structure designed to serve only their interests (i.e. the research centres), would minimize their responsibilities to serve the needs of institutions representing partial interests within the region, and would give them an independent base from which to attract the inputs of a variety of actors". (104) The obvious major problem of this approach relates to staffing insofar as independence would necessitate the presence of a nucleus of permanent staff. But as Stewart's proposal calls for core funding in the form of institutional support from the Urban Affairs Ministry this problem could be solved. Although she expects core funding to be provided through the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, she emphasizes the importance of multi-source funding in order to guarantee the independence of the centres.

What can one retain from this synopsis of various experiences, and how do these experiences relate to the

104 Ibid., p. 10.

regional research centre concept? A review of the four examples shows what we can learn.

The examination of the Center for Settlement Studies showed the role that can be played by universities in pursuing more relevant research. It also showed some advantages of interdisciplinarity. But more importantly, it warned of two dangers; first, the limitations that may arise from academic management, e.g. a certain inflexibility in research objectives; secondly it demonstrated the dangers of single-source funding.

From the work of the Mid-Canada Development Foundation comes a sense of urgency about the need for a global, long-term planning strategy for the Mid-North. It also demonstrates the necessity of raising the level of consciousness of Canadians with regard to the nature of the Mid-North. And it showed the importance of attributing a more meaningful role to northern communities and residents.

The Antigonish Movement was useful in exposing the value of a new type of community intervention in a slow-developing region. It focused our attention on the role

education can play, particularly through the use of existing facilities which have transformed the residents attitude. This transformation has led to the definition of a social philosophy which emphasizes the virtue of self-help.

Finally, Audrey Stewart explained how governments can, and indeed need, to play a more active role in the promotion and support of research operations at the regional level. She also presented some of the operational details and argued the value of independent research centres.

SECTION II. REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE: THE CONCEPT

Chapter 5. The Model

5.1 Basic Conceptual Elements.

If we are to witness a renewal in the decision-making process through a redefinition of local and regional roles as we have previously argued, policies which will shape these decisions must then become more meaningful. It would indeed be of doubtful value if these new powers were granted to area governments that could only function on the basis of policies drafted in the South, often without northern input.

Chapter 3.2 elaborated upon the merits of local government reform as a necessary step to increase northern participation in the implementation of decisions. This chapter will describe the mission of the regional research centre as being one of conducting research to assist these local governments. It is in fact imperative that the centre plays this role as the history of past policies has shown an obvious inadequacy in keeping pace with northern dynamics. There does not exist a clear understanding within government's bureaucracy as to the fact that policies designed with Ontario in mind often apply exclusively to the more urbanised and industrialized

South. Through its close association with the northern region, the research centre would correct this weakness.

Under ideal conditions, i.e. the region having access to adequate research services, the resources of the centre would be aimed at policy research. But such is presently not the case in Northeastern Ontario where the serious lack of local expertise necessary to conduct basic research projects means that the provision of such services will for the moment, have to constitute an element of the proposed research centre. While it would be academically more satisfying to concentrate on developing the policy research aspects of the centres' formula, it would however ignore most of the regional reality. Even if the underlying philosophy of the research centre is aimed at playing a significant and permanent role in policy formulation, its early days will be characterized by shorter term research projects whose number should decrease in direct proportion to the increase in its importance at the policy level. Indeed, the more the policies are appropriate to the region, the more its institutions will be able to react according to their resources and despite their limitations.

Chapter 4 has also shown that specific research projects can play a significant role in policy determination even if their objective was aimed at solving a specific problem.

For instance, many of the Center for Settlement Studies research projects were of the monitoring type, i.e. assessing a specific problem without looking necessarily at methods of solving the problems or, as in the case of intervention research, looking at the viability of different modes of intervention. But these CSS research projects nevertheless provided a sound basis from which policies could evolve. Their impact on policy was considerable in terms of the information base they provided. While the remainder of this chapter will focus on policy research, constant reference to the importance of information will be made. And it is in this context that the centre's involvement with specific research projects will be valuable for their results will increase the knowledge base.

The first step in undertaking a description of the policy research model that the centre will invoke and in order to better understand the centre's various compo-

nents, it is necessary to define the notion of policy-making. As a basis, this thesis will retain the definition proposed by Laurence Lynn, which states:

"Policy-making(...) is a process that moves through time-consuming stages, beginning with public recognition that a problem exists, to the adoption of laws or a combination of measures aimed at dealing with aspects of the problem(...), to the establishment and operation of a program, to evaluation, review and modification..."
(105)

While this definition hints at the necessity of having the knowledge "that a problem exists", it does not specifically state that the required information is available in all cases.

The definition of the work policy in Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary corroborates this fact. It defines policy as being "any government principle, plan or course of action and practice as the doing of something, often an application of knowledge".

105 Lynn, Laurence E., editor. Knowledge and Policy: The Uncertain Connection. Study Project on Social Research and Development, volume 5. Washington: National Academy of Science, 1978.

While the value of determining policies without the basis of adequate knowledge can, in general, be questioned, the consequences are much graver in remote regions. Indeed, a policy is often drafted in response to public pressure; knowing that the majority of the Ontario (and Canadian) population is located in the southern part, it is not surprising to see policies more receptive to their needs than to those of northerners. Lynn similarly stresses the fact that policy-making does not usually wait for relevant knowledge to become available. Under the pressure of events and constituencies, legislation is passed, programs are started, regulations and guidelines are written, and funds are authorized, appropriated, and spent whether or not relevant analysis and research findings are available. In fact, Lynn goes on to say that "the systematic accumulation of knowledge may not begin until policies and programs are enacted". (106)

All this quite clearly indicates the very political nature of policy-making. As Thomas Dye has explained

106 Lynn, ibid., p. 17.

"...policy development is greatly influenced by the predictions, preferences, orientations, and expectations of policy-makers - in short, by the political process itself". (107)

Van Loon and Whittington agree:

"The policy process has been defined as internal to the political system. It is the process whereby persons "inside" the system decide what should become system outputs". (108)

It is this thesis contention that such an approach - i.e. policy formulation without adequate information - has to change if the North is to have access to a consistent development philosophy.

What the regional centre will do is provide the very important information needed. Its long term objective will be policy research, i.e. to identify and/or develop the content of public policies and actions. In order to best carry out its task and to respond to the most

107 Dye, Thomas R. Policy Analysis. The University of Alabama Press. 1976.

108 Van Loon, R. and M. Whittington. The Canadian Political System. 2nd edition. Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson, 1976.

immediate and pressing needs of the region the research centre will, at the beginning, concentrate its efforts on applied policy research.

The conceptual model being developed here is simple. Although it uses as theoretical background the concepts put forward by many authors, it is important to note that it also draws on the experience of a centre that has been in operation for four years in Northeastern Ontario, the Northern Ontario Research and Development Institute (NORDINORD). While, for technical and financial reasons, that centre has not been solely concerned with policy research, it is in many respects a working model of the type of centre proposed here. Based on a personal involvement with NORDINORD since its creation, the author believes that the major theories on policy research do not correspond with sufficient adequacy to the Northeastern Ontario case. Rather, the conceptual basis of the model is made up of different elements and notions developed by various authors.

For instance, the model is composed of the two dimensions of research defined in Breton's terminology (109), monitoring research and intervention research, which we have previously introduced. Without getting into

a detailed discussion of Breton's thesis, we will briefly explain the two terms. In the words of Breton, monitoring research is an indirect discourse of influence.

"It hopes to have an impact on the content of decisions by providing background information, by documenting the state of affairs in a particular area, by alerting whoever may be concerned to certain phenomena or trends". (109)

The other discourse of influence, intervention research, is more direct in that it is more interested "in identifying modes of intervention with regard to a problem or set of circumstances". Breton goes on to say then that this type of research "can be involved in the public policy process... by exploring the viability and effectiveness of different modes of intervention".

Although the two discourses vary in their approach and in the depth of their intervention, they are nevertheless related to the extent that they are both concerned with direct access to information and its analysis and,

109 Breton, Raymond. The Canadian Condition: A Guide to Research in Public Policy. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1977.

directly or indirectly, with the definition of proposed course(s) of action.

The information that a regional centre will need to gather and use is of three types. There is first what is called primary data, i.e. any information of a statistical nature that may be compiled on a region or on a research topic and which may be updated through inventories or surveys. Normally, this kind of data base is available, although to a lesser degree in frontier regions. A role of the research institute, before dealing with policy questions, will be to initiate the process of information gathering and provide for its regular updating. Under normal circumstances, i.e. in a more centrally located or populated region, this task would involve less of the centre's resources.

However, in an area like Northeastern Ontario, such is not the case. In its 1979 annual report to its Board of directors, NORDINORD states that a series of contacts with government agencies involved in Northern Ontario showed the lack of basic information. This situation indicates quite clearly that the basis upon which civil servants bring about their policy determination is deficient. As Van Loon and Whittington state:

"The inflow of information from the environment is a necessary condition for policy-making". (110)

This weakness of the data base, in turn, influences greatly the state of the second type of information, i.e. secondary data. This type is made up essentially of the results of actual research efforts that have dealt with the region. These studies are, more often than not, limited to the examination of a problem which can be documented with existing data. Very few research undertakings, because of the present Ontario funding philosophy, will include in their terms of reference measures to gather new information.

There exist many cases in point to corroborate the extent of that problem in Northeastern Ontario. For instance, The Strategic Land Use Plan (SLUP) of the Ministry of Natural Resources released in the Spring of 1980 makes extensive use of data taken from the 1971 Census (35% of all tables). Given the importance of the policies contained in that document and which have imple-

110 Van Loon and Whittington, ibid., p. 21.

mentation horizons in excess of 25 years, it would have appeared essential to use a more up-to-date basis. And when one knows that the Ministry of Natural Resources is, in fact, the major planning body in Northern Ontario, it does not say much for the others.

A second case, Design for Development, has been dealt with quite extensively in a previous chapter. Its report was also seen as a major policy document in its time, but suffered from the same weakness as the recent SLUP, i.e. outdated or inadequate data.

The situation is particularly dramatic in the field of health and general welfare where agencies at the local or regional levels have to live with government policies drafted with half-documented evidence. The groups that suffer the most are the minority groups, the women and the elderly. It is at best difficult to obtain support from governments to conduct studies to develop the data base. Government assistance is directed mostly at supporting more "tangible" projects, i.e. capital projects; new services that generate more immediate political benefits even if such services are short term, e.g. private ventures in the field of production, more often than not directly related to natural resources etc...

It appears obvious that for two reasons the secondary information base is presently not headed in a very promising direction. First, as mentioned, because of the absence of a sound primary data base and second because of the role given to the agencies that owe their existence to northern areas. In Northern Ontario, reference is of course made to the Ministry of Northern Affairs whose most major role is rubber-stamping decisions made by other ministries. While it should occupy a key position in terms of policy determination and formulation, it merely occupies the trunk space of a chauffered limousine.

The third type of information, the experience-based personal knowledge is very important, particularly in light of the weakness of the previous two. And it is also important because of the growing northern "identity". More and more northerners feel they have something to contribute to their own future. As the next section on the structure of the research centre will demonstrate, this resource will be considered an essential component of the organizational structure and will be used widely in trying to determine the research priorities of the centre.

It is also an important source of information insofar as it is precisely this population who will benefit in the long run from the policy changes brought about by the research based on this type of information.

While some authors do not necessarily see the presence of an adequate information base as a prerequisite to policy-making (111), this thesis is advocating its necessity, i.e. that policy is the passage from knowledge to action.

Once sufficient information has become available, the process then becomes one of analysing that information and integrating it in the context of various other conditions that may bear upon the results obtained and their application. There is also a distinct stage in which existing policies have to be evaluated and subsequently altered, dropped or maintained without change.

It has been argued that policy-making is often a very political exercise not only with regard to the rea-

111 Lynn and Dye, ibid., p. 97.

sons for introducing policies but even more so as far as the results are concerned. They are made with the clear intent of increasing the popularity of whoever holds power at the time.

Dye (112) has identified five characteristics describing the relationship between politics and policies. Essentially these characteristics argue the inadequacy of the present approach. Dye says for instance that many policies have strictly symbolic value in that they do not change the conditions of target groups but merely give them the impression that government "cares". It is then easy to understand why governments are so wary of studies demonstrating the doubtful value of some programs.

He also mentions the vested interest of government bodies in proving the positive impact of their programs. In other words, they work to justify the value of their actions.

Thirdly, Dye declares that because of what he calls the "heavy investments" government agencies have in

these policies and programs they do not wish to see them jeopardized through an evaluation that shows that the programs do not work.

Fourth, because of these "heavy investments", any attempt to study the impact of these policy decisions would interfere with the "normal" ongoing program activities. Consequently, such evaluations are rarely undertaken unless the agency is directed to do so by some political force.

Finally, related to the previous one, these evaluations require resources (money, staff, time, etc...) that are rarely available within the agency itself and which would certainly require that the agency cuts into its program activities in order to carry them out.

To these five elements, another could be added, namely that government agencies are not the only bodies that prefer to stay away from policy evaluation. Political actors also have a similar vested interest which in some cases could even be stronger since they are supposedly accountable for government actions. It would not be politically desirable for those in power to be confronted with the results of poor decisions.

It is precisely for these reasons and particularly the last, that this author believes it will be extremely difficult to "sell" the idea of an independent policy research operation to governments. And it will be difficult not so much because of the new policy research, but because of the necessity of carrying out policy evaluation in the process.

However, it remains the contention of this thesis that the present negative feelings in northern areas, or for that matter, in any "depressed" areas (i.e. alienation, isolation, etc...) could be best alleviated through a concept such as that of the regional research centre. Indeed, by developing policy based on a sound background of research and public consultation, such centres would relieve the politician of worry about the "political value" of their decisions. The policy research process would incorporate the true aspirations of the residents of those regions.

In conclusion, it is clear both to this author and to the Institute of Urban Studies that "the potential role of a research institute is to provide multi-disciplinary, policy-oriented research to decision-makers and to disseminate information and expertise to society..."

(113)

113 Institute of Urban Studies. "The Role of Research Institutes in Canadian Social Science Research". Paper submitted at the General Assembly of the Social Science Federation of Canada. Ottawa, May 1978.

SECTION II. REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE: THE CONCEPT

Chapter 5. The Model.

5.2 Organizational details of implementation.

This section deals with the nuts and bolts of the research centre and tackles the questions of funding, administration and staffing. It has been stated in earlier sections, and it will be examined more closely in the next chapter, that the concept which is proposed is applicable to a wide variety of regions. For this reason, the comments which are about to be made look at these questions in the general sense. Because each region has its own dynamics, the conditions which will affect the establishment of the research centre will have to be assessed and adjustments made to the guidelines that follow. For instance, a centre whose area has one or more universities may not require the hiring of as many resident staff as a centre located in a remote area. Or with reference to funding, a centre located in a region within a province that puts more emphasis on regional research may get a larger share of its budget from that province.

It is only through application that the real conditions will be correctly assessed. The author presents what follows as a scenario, depicting an ideal situation.

His personal experience in the matter is taken as evidence that adjustments have to made. Other previous Canadian experiences have also shown (e.g. C.S.S.) that there is a gap between the "what is" and the "what should be". What follows is the "what should be".

5.20 FUNDING

We have already argued at length the importance of multi-source funding with regard to two aspects. First was the necessity for a research centre to avoid the danger of having its only source of income suddenly cut; and secondly the insurance that the centre would not become ideologically influenced or controlled by the funding agency. This last danger may not necessarily be direct or obvious. It may sometimes only be the tendency of the grantee to conduct studies or draw conclusions that may benefit the grantor, the problem in this case being that this research may take the place of more important concerns or prevent the presentation of results that would be critical of the granting agency. Obviously, there could be severe consequences on the research centre itself. One of them would be a decrease in the usefulness of the institution insofar as it may then become the equivalent of a more sophisticated public relations department. Apart

from those drawing a salary, the only others who would benefit would be the granting agency, likely to the detriment of the regional community.

A second consequence would lie in a possible deterioration of the centre's credibility in the eyes of the region and its residents. People are usually quite critical vis-à-vis government reports and are quick to recognize partiality. Adding to this the presence of an increasing number of interest groups acting as watchdogs ~~and~~ which are usually influential in a community, the centre will want to remain as detached as possible from any direct affiliation.

Again it must be emphasized that this question of credibility is central to the success of the research centre. As the next section will demonstrate in discussing the structure of the organization, community participation is essential and constitutes a cornerstone of the project.

Two major types of funding are available to the research centre. Each of those should be pursued simultaneously for they are complementary to one another. The first type is core-funding and, as such, constitutes the

bulk of the long-term budget requirements. Core-funding is essential to insure a sound basis of operation and some security for the crucial first few years. The purpose of the core-funding would be twofold; first it would be used to defray overhead expenses associated with staffing, with planning and development expenses, with some equipment costs and with the overall administrative expenditures the centre would run into. Secondly, part of this institutional support would be set aside to create a reserve fund which would allow greater flexibility and a capacity to react with some immediacy to specific situations. It would be necessary that this type of support be available on the basis of a multi-year agreement, for this would constitute the large part of the financing, at least during the initial years.

The question of where these funds should originate from is likely to be very complex. It is indeed doubtful that any agency would agree to commit itself without being forced to do so either through some political decision, or through a drastic change in the current government policy on support to external research groups. Since the early 1970's the tendency for governments has been to support funding on a proposal basis, i.e. money contri-

buted to carry out a specific research project by contrast to seed-money or start-up grants. In chapter 4, it was shown that this had severe consequences on existing research institutions, such as the Center for Settlement Studies.

Undoubtedly, there is a need for change in that regard if the regional research centres proposed here are to have a fair chance at establishing themselves in the initial years.

One likely source of funding at the federal level lies with the Ministry of State formula. Two such ministries were created around the start of the 1970's, one in Urban Affairs, the other in Science and Technology. As expressed by Aucoin and French in a publication of the Science Council (114), the ministries of State were "administrative mechanisms which would increase flexibility and the Cabinet's capacity to make policy decisions. Ministers of State were to be agents of the national pursuit

114 Aucoin, Peter and Richard French. Knowledge, Power and Public Policy. Background Study No. 31. Ottawa: Science Council of Canada, 1974.

of government goals and coordination of at least some of the policies and programs of departmental fiefdoms, although they were not to become massive bureaucracies themselves. Rather their influence was to be brought to bear through the excellence of the information, analysis and policy developed by their staff".

While that formula was of obvious merit in that it allowed outside groups (such as research centres) greater access to government assistance, it did not achieve what its proponents had hoped for. For instance, the phasing out of the activities of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs put an end to promising initiatives and a return to a more traditional approach. As noted earlier there had been within that Ministry some consideration given to the development of regional research centres dealing with the urban process and funded mainly through the Ministry's budget.

Despite the discontinuation of the operations of that Ministry, there still remains the possibility of proceeding through its counterpart in Science and Technology which is also involved, through support programs, in university research.

The second major type of funding is usually referred to as contract funding. It consists of payments received by the research centre for undertaking specific projects on behalf of a client. It is foreseen that these contracts will generally be government - sponsored, for the centre's emphasis will be on matters of public policy. While it is recognized that core-funding is indispensable, contract funding has definite advantages. The first is that it allows individual agencies and ministries to participate in and benefit from the services of a research centre. Although most ministries do not have extensive core-funding programs, they always dispose of funds for specific research proposals. Contract funding also expands the resources allocated to the centre's different research priorities initiated through core-funding. One drawback most existing research institutions have had to live with was the confined scope of their activities due to limited funding sources. For instance, the refusal by the Centre for Settlement Studies to accept the necessity of the contract approach has substantially contributed to its closure and has made impossible in some cases the completion of particular research programs.

It is true however that this type of financial support represents a considerable administrative burden for the research centre. Even if government is turning toward this kind of assistance, it seems that the fund application and the granting processes have not been substantially improved. Both are still long and time consuming activities and could obviously not be carried out without some financial resources for overhead at the centre's level. It is obvious that the present bureaucratic process is set up in such a way as to discourage as much as possible the request for financial assistance from outside.

It seems then that in order for governments to benefit from the presence of centres on policy research, the first requisite is for them to have a clearer policy on research centres. The previous observations are mostly based on the federal scene - mainly because this is where most of the support for institutional research has come from.

The provincial government in Ontario has, judging from existing assistance programs, come to rely on consulting work done by professional firms. Most of the research dealing with Northern Ontario is carried out by

consultant services and is mostly of the corrective type, i.e. it looks at the consequence(s) of problems rather than the source(s). Preventive research is a new concept in Ontario and, on the rare occasions it is done, it takes place through government agencies themselves.

If some of the considerable financial resources invested in commercially run consulting firms was to be redirected into preventive research done by less profit motivated bodies, substantial long term gains could derive for Northern Ontario.

Another important source of contract funding originates from groups that may not necessarily have a first hand in normal policy design but which are always affected by it and may want to increase their role in it. These are in the private sector, the municipal sector and the para-public sector. The latter refers to groups that owe their existence to public funds but which are not part of the government policy structure itself, for instance school boards, tourism associations, health boards, library boards, etc...

As to the municipal sector, a reform in local government as proposed here would increase the monetary and financial capacity of local and regional levels to initiate things, particularly in the field of policy research.

5.21 THE STRUCTURE

The most essential characteristic of the organisational framework of the regional research centre is its capacity to respond to local and regional needs for more appropriate policy decisions. As it has been previously argued in this thesis, the lack of participation of local and regional forces in the decision-making process has generated latent although widespread discontent within the population.

The argument stating that core-funding should originate from a national funding source, e.g. Ministry of State, does not suggest in any way that the approach or the structure should be dictated by that level. On the contrary, previous experiences have shown that governments by

themselves are rarely capable of adequately gauging even the most basic needs of a specific region. (115) This is even more so the case in frontier and resource regions where the statistical data base is at best only partially complete, and where the mechanisms to collect or update this information are insufficient. As it has been argued by the Canadian Council on Rural Development in its development strategy for the Mid-North, it is important that senior levels of the civil service stop considering human problems at the local or regional levels in terms of structures which fit theoretical models of administration. (116)

In light of these considerations, it then becomes imperative that the regional research centre in any region

115 A case could be developed here to show that programs initiated at the federal level most often rely on a philosophy of standardization and base the specifics of their action, i.e. regionally, on statistics originating at the central level. This is the case of programs such as Canada Works, Young Canada at work, Local Employment Initiative etc... which are characterized by a distribution of funds solely based on unemployment figures which do not necessarily represent well the needs of the region.

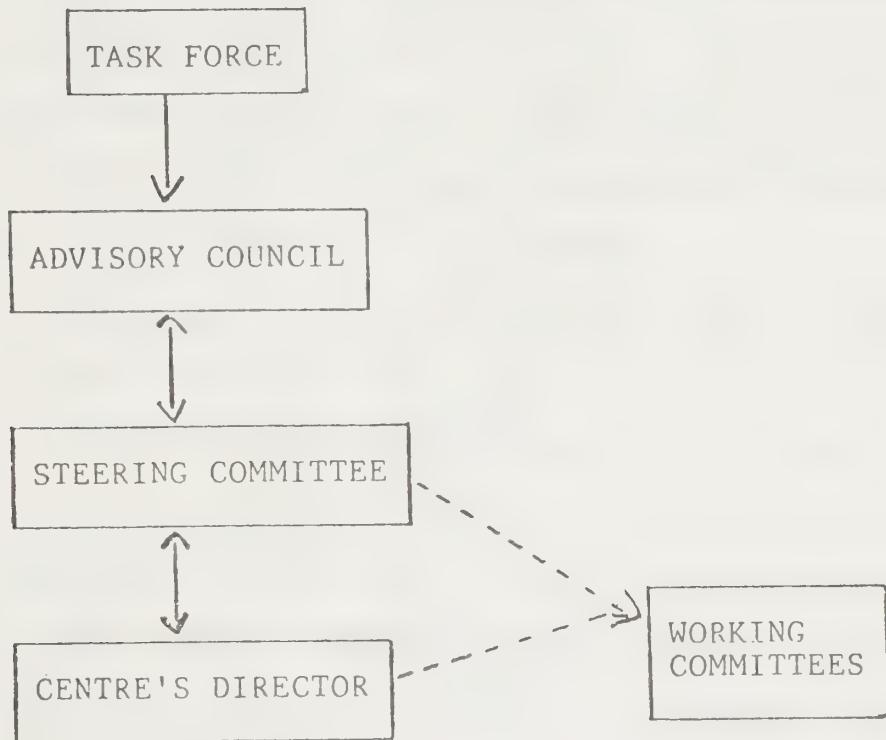
116 CCRD, A Development Strategy for the Mid-North of Canada. Ibid., p. 57.

be developed according to locally-based priorities determined to the largest possible extent by those directly affected by the results of that program. This does not preclude the necessity of establishing a partnership with governments for they will have to be involved at every stage of the process. At the beginning these governments will provide important organizational help to be followed throughout the development phase with occasional technical and staff assistance as well as a participation in the determination of appropriate local research priorities. But more important will be their role at the end of the process; the recommendations coming from the policy research process at the regional level characteristically require a coordinated effort by a number of governments in order to be implemented.

The major objective to bring into focus when dealing with the structural details of the research centre is the method of maximizing participation from any given source, in order that a new community-government relationship be obtained.

The following proposition constitutes an "ideal" situation whereby the pursued objective could be best

achieved. It is made up of five components which are as follows and which will be briefly explained.



1. TASK FORCE

The mandate of the task force will be limited to the broad identification of the region's characteristics and to the determination of the general terms of reference of the research centre.

The formation of this task force would be initiated through the institution involved in core-funding,

e.g. Ministry of State, and would bring together local expertise to complement the knowledge basis of the former. An assessment of the more valuable regional expertise would help determine the composition of the task force. Those actively involved or preoccupied with various aspects of regional development or those known for their involvement in specific sectors of activity (e.g. industries, education, health, etc...) could be approached to participate in the task force.

For instance, the presence of universities within a region would constitute an important component of this preliminary phase, for these institutions often possess valuable information on the region. Also, they are likely to be involved on a regular basis once the final administrative set-up of the centre has been approved.

The task force should be asked to report within a period of a few months. Specifically its mandate is threefold:

- A. To determine the overall situation of the region in terms of its strengths and weaknesses, of its major problem areas, of the forces that could become involved once the centre is operational, of the presence of public agencies to support research either through provision

of information or implementation of possible research results. In short, it is to "sketch out" the area with regard to its characteristics. It is also to initiate the drawing of a parallel between these characteristics and the existing government policies.

- B. To outline the broad objectives the centre will pursue, at least until a better grasp of the regional scene has been achieved by the centre.
- C. To hire a research director for the centre and, with him, to choose the members that will make up the advisory council.

2. ADVISORY COUNCIL

The advisory council plays an important role in the centre's structure insofar as it represents its most crucial link with groups involved in regional development. It constitutes the forum through which the coordination of efforts will take place, as well as a perfect opportunity to gauge reactions to research proposals prepared by the centre's staff. Moreover, the members on that council should be instrumental in keeping the centre in touch with the changes in the funding opportunities as well as with the various needs for research.

The council would necessarily be made up of members from both the local and the external scenes. While the number may vary depending on the region involved, a total of about 20 individuals is envisaged for Northeastern Ontario. In Northeastern Ontario, for example, some of the many organizations whose presence may benefit the council are the following: the regional associations of municipalities (i.e. Federation of Northern Ontario Municipalities-FONOM; or the Northeastern Ontario Municipal Association-NEOMA); related municipal or other local government associations (e.g. MAC-Municipal Advisory Committee), Unorganized Communities Association of Northern Ontario, UCANO; representative(s) from the granting agencies involved in core-funding; representatives from universities, either within the region (Collège de Hearst, Laurentian University) or from outside if they are involved with Northern Ontario research (e.g. Lakehead University); some representation from the most important government agencies specifically involved in areas of research pursued by the centre (e.g. Natural Resources, Housing, Environment, Transportation); representatives from various community organizations that may exist in the region and who also may contribute something to the achievement of the research programs (e.g. planning boards,

consultants, agricultural societies, etc...); finally, individuals that may be directly involved or interested in northern research or who have been instrumental in the setting up or management of research operations elsewhere.

The responsibilities of the advisory council cover four areas.

- a) To continue the definition of overall research policies for the centre as initiated by the Task Force. This work should be done in a broader time frame and should aim at developing a research strategy that would cover a 2 to 3 year span. While provisions for flexibility should be worked in, this strategy is seen as extremely important insofar as it will help the planning of specific research projects and the accompanying requests for funding. This specific responsibility will be greatly facilitated through the initial work of the steering committee which will be presented below.
- b) A second task of the council will be to suggest a number of research projects which are within the sphere of interest of the centre. In this case, consideration is given to the fact that the members are often in a position of first-hand knowledge on either the needs or the opportunities for research in specific areas. Although such a function is, by definition, consultative, it is seen as extremely important in-

sofar as the Centre's full-time staff may not always be fully aware of prevailing external conditions. In such cases, they may miss opportunities to take advantage of certain funding programs or fail to become involved with broader team projects with other research institutions.

- c) This question of a link with other research operations constitutes a third role of the advisory council. An important requisite for the research centre will be its capacity to develop cooperation with other institutions in order to minimize the "vacuum" created by its remote location. It may indeed be difficult for the managers of the centre to be at all times in a position to identify potentially interesting or interested groups and to maintain close liaison with them. For this reason, the council members, coming from various milieux, would be more in touch with this external reality.
- d) The fourth responsibility may be the most critical the council may have to assume. It concerns the initiation of contacts necessary to secure core-funding from various sources. The point has been previously made that type of funding is essential to the pursuit of any activity within the research centre.

The members of the advisory council will come from different organizations which, although they may be working on many different projects, have in common their involvement and interest in northern development. As such, they are considered

dedicated to the pursuit of better research in the Mid-North. It will be expected of them that, outside the context of the bi-annual council meetings, they will act as representatives of the centre at the level of funding agencies, actual and potential, and which may be either local or external.

3. STEERING COMMITTEE

The steering committee is essentially concerned with the more detailed strategy decisions of the research centre, jointly with the centre's director. The committee also links the centre and its staff with the advisory council.

Because of its functions, described hereafter, the committee will have a multidisciplinary character along with a strong representation from research expertise. Since many decisions will deal with budget matters, administrative skills are important.

While, as in the case of the advisory council, the number of members may vary from one centre to the other depending on regional circumstances and regional priorities, it should not, for the sake of efficiency, be composed of more than 7 members. For similar reasons,

it should not have less than 4 or 5 members to minimize the work load of each committee member.

There are six specific functions.

- a) To elaborate and/or approve research strategies and programs and to make sure they suit the objectives and policies of the centre as determined by the advisory council. This work is done in consultation with the director.
- b) To examine and make decisions on specific research projects as presented by the director of the centre on behalf of individual researchers, particularly with regard to funding and integration within the overall priorities of the centre.
- c) To supervise the program administration of the centre, particularly in terms of the allocation of adequate funding to the various research programs of the centre.
- d) With respect to funding, the steering committee is expected to assist the director in obtaining contract funds for the pursuit of the research programs. This may require that individual committee members assume responsibility for specific dossiers.
- e) The steering committee's mandate also includes the preparation of the agenda for the advisory council bi-annual meetings.

f) The final function of the steering committee involves the selection and hiring of a research director when a vacancy occurs. As part of this responsibility, the committee must also assess the performance of the current director on a yearly basis and following this evaluation make the appropriate recommendations. The steering committee is responsible for the director's contract renewal.

4. THE DIRECTOR

The work of the director requires commitment at both the programming and the administrative levels. He is expected to show initiative in preparing and presenting new programs while simultaneously acting as a coordinator for current projects and manager of operations, including finance.

More specifically, his responsibilities cover seven areas, the last two of which are strictly administrative:

- a) to develop the terms of reference of specific research projects and to prepare for their submission to the steering committee;
- b) to propose the creation of various research teams and to bring together within each of them the expertise necessary to undertake the pursuit of specific research projects;

- c) to create the required working committees (see 5 below);
- d) to coordinate the activities of the various research teams;
- e) to develop mechanisms whereby the synthesis and the integration of their research results could become possible, and to facilitate implementation;
- f) to prepare requests for contract funding and to submit those to the appropriate agencies. To respond also to specific proposals that may fall within the mandate and objectives of the Centre;
- g) to see to the day-to-day affairs of the Centre.

As part of his duties, the director is also directly responsible for ensuring representation from the Centre at various official functions.

5. WORKING COMMITTEES

The committees are consultative and are formed only when their presence is of potential benefit to a research project. They are important mostly because they allow for the continuous participation of the local element, which has been identified as a major feature of the centre.

The reason behind the creation of these committees is to increase local input into specific research programs and their ensuing projects. These groups are formed and disbanded as community needs are identified and met.

By nature, these committees can act as middle men between the community and the research teams. In fact, not only will they help the researchers in the development of adequate research components, but they will also, upon project completion or at any other stage that requires such intervention, feed back to the community concerning the progress of the project.

As such, the committees are thus attributed the following functions:

- a) to help researchers assess needs;
- b) to assist researchers in establishing project priorities;
- c) to discuss proposed alternatives;
- d) to propose appropriate solutions;
- e) to act as liaison with the community at large.

5.22 PERSONNEL

The necessity of the multidisciplinary approach has been discussed at length in this thesis (Chapters 3.2 and 5.1). The line of reasoning is that the changes being proposed to the present problem-solving approach are substantial, given the complexity of the current social and economic systems.

Therefore, since the changes needed are deep and far-reaching and go beyond the limits of any one discipline, the input of various specialties is required to provide the communities with the expertise to bring about local improvement.

In her in-house proposal to the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, Audrey Stewart (117) deals with this issue of staffing and makes a number of points that suit well the philosophy of this thesis. She, for instance, urges the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach for, she says, it will "provide useful and accurate results" by

117 Canada - Ministry of State for Urban Affairs.
Proposal on Regional Research Centres. Mimeo.
Ottawa: MSUA, 1974.

generating what "none of the traditional research disciplines could alone carry out...". She further points out that the centre's "scope of enquiry will be shaped by the complexity of the region itself-involving both rural and urban elements, and social, economic, resource, physical, environmental and administrative dimensions". (118)

A second of Stewart's points which fits this thesis is the mixing of full-time and part-time staff. An obvious problem of the centre will be to achieve the balance between efficiency and flexibility. Efficiency refers to the centre having a staff large enough to carry out research in many policy areas without having to compromise too largely on the quality of the overall program. Flexibility implies that the centre will be able to react with some immediacy to the changing conditions shaping the research. Often, large research operations have a tendency to develop proposals and strategies so complex that even a small change may force a complete reassessment of the project. Large research schemes also contribute to increasing discipline isolationism inso-

118 Ibid., p. 4.

far as researchers are expected to produce an isolated section of a research instead of a component of it. Consequently, as they can function quasi-independently from their co-workers in other disciplines, little contact or cooperation is required during elaboration.

The full-time staff requirements do not need to be substantial. In fact, what is required is only a small "permanent core of researchers working full-time at the centre, augmented by others brought in under various forms of co-optation". Stewart further states that, within a university participation scheme, "the strategy of using visitors, offering fellowships and part-time appointments, and the use of volunteered help should enable the centre to participate in the larger personnel market of universities, governments and industries". (119)

The full-time core staff need consists of only a director plus two or three assistants backed up by some clerical workers.

119 Ibid., p. 11.

Depending on the affiliation a particular centre will choose to adopt, the part-time researchers will come from different sources. If the centre functions in close cooperation with a university, an obvious pool of professional expertise lies with the university departments themselves. Indeed, the universities constitute the broadest category of institutional support for research. In Northeastern Ontario, a consortia of universities could take part in ensuring institutional infrastructure support. There exist five post-secondary institutions that could interact with one another in providing assistance to the research centre: Laurentian University in Sudbury, Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Collège Universitaire de Hearst in Hearst/Kapuskasing, Nipissing University College in North Bay and Algoma University College in Sault Ste-Marie. Together, these institutions could likely provide sufficient staff power to fulfill the centre's needs. Different schemes would be available whereby this collaboration could be made constant. For instance, work for the centre could be recognized for the purpose of sabbatical leaves. It could also be considered as equivalent to the normal teaching load in cases where faculty members are involved with specific research projects. In these instances, those researchers would be "on loan" from

their institution. The advantages of this type of arrangement are obvious insofar as the financial burden for the research institute is limited to material or background staff.

A third option is in a faculty exchange on a term basis whereby staff would not only teach for the host institution but also collaborate on a research project.

Finally, universities can offer the energy and resources of graduate students wishing to conduct research and who would be under the direction and supervision of one of the staff members. In some cases, this supervision may not even be necessary insofar as a student may only be using the facilities of the centre to gather data or achieve part of a research project while still being under the supervision of his own advisor.

The public sector can also provide expertise. Government agencies sometimes carry out research functions that are beyond the normal departmental operations. It has been hypothesized that such research is often carried out in isolation of the community needs and aspirations. Working within a more appropriate setting where every ac-

tion is geared towards the type of policy intervention these government studies wish to achieve may make such exercises more productive and regionally relevant.

Cooperation can also be developed with those agencies of the government that are research oriented. For instance, in Northeastern Ontario, the Great Lakes Forest Research Centre of the federal Ministry of the Environment focusses only on research adapted to the regional situation in forestry. Joint programs could be undertaken with this agency to further the state of knowledge and improve policy decisions. The same could be said of the regional operations of the federal experimental farms system and their research in agriculture.

Finally, the private sector could also share its resources with the centre and benefit from the expertise available. As an example particularly relevant to Northeastern Ontario, pulp and paper operations and lumber mills preoccupied with the question of reforestation and rejuvenation could gain substantially from joint ventures. Past experiences have shown that in that field, the private sector has not always been on top of developments when it comes to improving these techniques.

SECTION II. REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE: THE CONCEPT

Chapter 6. The outcome

6.1 The impact on the problem-solving capacity of the region.

Much has been said in the previous sections about the potential merits of the regional research centre formula. The basis of the argument rested upon the relationship between local government reform and the role of the research centre as a supplier of services to the new form of local government. It was further stressed in chapter 5.1 that the mission of the research centre was one of policy research and that it had two basic objectives. First, it was to provide a more sound development strategy for the Mid-North of Canada and, second, to offer an independent alternative to the current southern-based policy-making bureaucracy.

The impacts such objectives could have are far-reaching, for they will affect the present structure of decision-making by providing locally-based and, more importantly, locally-minded expertise.

This chapter presents a synthesis of the two areas of major impact of the work of the research centre.

1. The provision of research facilities

As we have previously argued, an element of vital necessity in any attempt aimed at increasing regional autonomy in the North is the availability and access to knowledge, both seriously lacking at the present time. The current trend is to gather information and do research in response to situations of crisis where consequences are rarely confined to the northern regions. The best examples of this type of reaction lie in the resource sector. It is only recently that more than token efforts have been put into documenting the depletion of resources, a situation which affects the entire Ontario economic structure.

In the forest industry, little is yet known about rejuvenation and reforestation techniques. Ill-conceived and ill-managed plans were and are being carried out with, to no one's surprise, dismal results. Most programs are still drafted without a clear picture of the dynamics of northern vegetative cycles. Over and above this lack of technical information lies an even more important constraint - the attitude of present public policy-makers, who are guided by the criteria dictated by private enterprise in the resource field.

The involvement of the Ministry of Natural Resources in an inventory of forest reserves in certain regions is very recent. Prior to that, the approach was simply to follow the advice of the companies foresters whose interest did not, for obvious reasons, lean towards increasing their employers' expenses in costly reforestation programmes. As a result, government agencies are now faced with a situation that requires immediate and costly action. In some regions, availability of adequate resources is a serious question. Results of recent studies (120) done by consultants on behalf of the Ontario government forecast a dramatic turn of events within a few years. According to the Reed report, severe shortages in commercial stands could lead to dramatic changes in economic and social conditions in many northern communities.

Government agencies, and particularly Natural Resources, were quick in downplaying the importance of the results. But the fact of the matter remains that these agencies are incapable of coming up with more "optimistic"

120 A report released in 1980 by Reed and Associates shows that in some areas of Northeastern Ontario, commercial reserves may be depleted within the next decade.

data. The lack of information, the present shortages of professional staff and the seemingly chronic unwillingness of ministries to enforce certain responsibilities upon private enterprise have prevented sustained action in that area of forest rejuvenation.

Semi-autonomous bodies, a formula closer to our proposed model, have a much better record in providing up-to-date information. The Great Lakes Forest Research Centre is Sault Ste-Marie for instance, is one of these. Because of its relative independence vis-à-vis the government in the pursuit of research objectives, it is in a better position to undertake and release results of critical studies. Though these reports do not enjoy a wide circulation, they are generally made available to provincial agencies. But it appears, from the lack of action, that these studies receive the same treatment as most others too critical of current provincial strategies.

It then seems that not only is it necessary to solve the availability and access to proper information, but it is equally important to change the attitude of policy-makers as to why, how and when to use new information or knowledge. Chapter 5.1 explored some of the im-

plications of the current attitude and how the research centre concept would contribute to its modification. It stressed the vested interest of the majority of politicians in staying away from new policies that could prove wrong previous policies to which they were politically committed.

This type of argument has also been developed by Sundquist who suggests that "policy-makers as such should not have to contribute to the process of research design..." (121) Sundquist's argumentation led him to advocate the concept of government-supported research institutes while still emphasizing the necessity of separating policy-makers from any kind of decision regarding even the identification of research needs. To him, respective responsibilities of both groups (i.e. researchers vs policy-makers) were obvious and did not need permanent direct connections in program design.

The proposed concept of a research institute would favour this distinction by removing research operations

121 Sundquist, James L. Research brokerage: The weak Link. in Lynn, Laurence, *Ibid.*, p. 142.

from the hands of the policy-makers. The presence of a core of independent researchers committed to planning and undertaking research programs in the most crucial areas of investigation would at all times render information and knowledge available to the policy and decision-makers.

The notion of increasing research freedom by clearly drawing the line between the political process and the research process is central to the present proposal. So far, this lack of distinction has been a source of confusion and frustration at the local and regional levels. It remains however that in order to become useful policy tools, permanent channels of communications have to be established with the local political scene. Unless some form of meaningful exchange and concertation can be developed, expected changes may be less than satisfactory.

But given the nature of the present system, such a change will not likely be made without much effort being spent by the promoters of the research institute concept. This situation introduces the second function of the research institute and its important impact on the future of the regional community, that of advocate.

2. The Advocacy Role

Working toward achieving the best interests of the regional community is an important element of the stated mandate of the research centre. By regrouping resources and expertise in key sectors of northern activity, the centre will increase the capacity of northern regions to participate more meaningfully in their own future. Research projects that will work with or on behalf of the northern residents will also correct the present imbalance of the system by reinforcing what had traditionally been the weak link, i.e. northern input.

In turn, this local input through or with the help of the research centre would allow its policy recommendations to be more solidly anchored in the community, therefore being a more accurate reflection of northern concerns and priorities.

The centre could act as a liaison between local and other levels of government by providing information and advice on programs available to the North and by "translating" preoccupations of northerners into a language governments can understand. In the past, these "language" differences had been a major stumbling block

resulting in communication breakdowns between public agencies and the residents. Despite occasional efforts by governments at democratising the public process, e.g. local offices of the ministry of Northern Affairs throughout the North, the complexity of the public bodies, and the requirements of the format of communications still impose conditions that limit the access of individuals to these offices.

This is best exemplified by the necessity for any regional organisation wishing to communicate with higher levels of decision-making to do so by using the services of highly paid consultants. Even if direct communication is possible, the bureaucratic maze is a deterrent to the "non-initiated". Consultants have the knowledge and the contacts necessary to accelerate the processing of an application by a municipality. Most of them employ competent staff, who in most cases can direct their clients' needs to the appropriate channels. Unfortunately, for two major reasons, the present consulting system is unacceptable to the North. Besides the high cost of such services which often puts them beyond the reach of smaller, less fortunate groups or municipalities, consulting firms are also profit oriented private enterprises and there-

fore have to minimize their costs in order to maximize returns. This explains in part their tendency to allocate proportionately less resources to smaller projects, which account for most of the projects in northern communities, than to large projects where the firm is liable to benefit more, financially and otherwise. It also affects their approach to problem-solving to the extent that maximization of profits implies standardizing the procedure to eliminate delays and supplementary costs. This means that the procedure in the case of the preparation of an official plan is the same in the North as it is the South or that ways of dealing with a housing crisis are the same everywhere. This standardization only facilitates the work of government agencies by eliminating specific conditions or solutions for various communities. With such an approach, consulting firms are in fact better representing the interest of provincial agencies than that of their own clients.

The standardized approach also fails to consider the varying capacity of local and regional groups in implementing the recommendations contained in the consultant's report. Again using the example of an official plan, a community without the qualified planning personnel

will not be able to develop the same type of implementation approach as a community with professional planners. However, this author's experience in Northeastern Ontario over the past four years has been that no serious consideration is given to this concern in the majority of consultants' reports and recommendations.

The role of a research centre would be to establish clearly the need for a specific northern approach by identifying the conditions which shape the northern communities and by making these conditions known to consultants and governments. In that way, the research centre could, directly and indirectly, represent the northern region, i.e. directly by being involved in the definition and execution of major research themes and, indirectly, through the consultants that recognize the specific conditions of the North.

It is important to note that the research centre does not aim at becoming a permanent "lobbyist" of northerners. While this function may be carried out at the beginning because of the incapacity of northern groups to do it themselves due to their lack of knowledge and resources, the centre will work towards providing northern

groups with the "ammunition" to do their own lobbying. The research centre hopes to make communities and groups more autonomous in voicing their concerns. There would indeed be little value in decreasing the North's dependency on southern institutions only to make it more dependent on a research centre. Part of the advocacy role is therefore made up of education - i.e. making northerners aware that expertise is available amongst themselves. Indeed, resources are wasted because of this tendency to ignore experiences of others. Duplication of efforts is certainly typical of northern communities. With similar characteristics, they often share common problems. And to common problems, why not consider joint solutions? The way now is to do everything separately from one another. It is to hire and pay your own consultants if you can afford it, or it is to spend the valuable energy of the limited human resources in search of a solution that may well be available in a neighbouring community. Resources and information have to be pooled in order to share solutions or look for the ones that may not yet be known. This measure, which could be co-ordinated through the research centre would decrease costs and dependency.

Finally, this philosophy of making the most of limited resources simply by avoiding wastes would also be favoured at the regional level. Indeed, the research centre would provide a forum for the development of coherent policies at all levels and a means of carrying out program evaluation on behalf of various groups, public and private. In this way, an on-going analysis of the applicability of policies could be conducted with the result that modifications or changes could be implemented as needed.

SECTION II. REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE: THE CONCEPT

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6.2 The applicability to other regions.

The research centre model described in the preceding chapters was developed in relation to the characteristics of Northeastern Ontario. But the point was made, first in the introduction and subsequently in chapter 2, that Northeastern Ontario is a component of a wider region, the Canadian Mid-North.

This section will conclude the thesis by exploring briefly the reasons that make the model applicable elsewhere and the importance of developing a network of such centres across various regions of this country.

Geographically, other regions of the Mid-North would be well-suited to an application of the present concept. The major reasons supporting the applicability of the concept elsewhere have been developed at length in chapter 2. They concern the similar nature of the various regions in that they share a great number of common features pertaining to their geography, their economy and a large part of their social structure. We have said for instance that physically, climatically, vegetatively, as

well as with regard to their topography and geology, these regions are very similar. This in turn obviously affects the types of economic activities taking place within each region. Staple industries are the rule in the forestry and mining sectors. Access to resources has been everywhere the developmental motive behind actions and the major actors in that field have been large multinational private corporations. This implies that decisions are made outside the region by people that have no interest in the region as a region but only as a source of raw material corresponding to a certain cost factor of production.

Another common feature concerns the role of the government as a supplier of services, mostly of a corrective nature. Depending on the political philosophy of the party in power, this role will take place to varying degrees. For instance, Ontario and Alberta, which both have conservative governments, are less likely to step on corporate toes and do not have a very interventionist attitude toward private capital-except to grant financial assistance to the larger corporations. This tendency to yield the way to private entrepreneurs even includes planning for resources, where companies are asked (and paid) to implement conservation programs. In Ontario,

the forestry sector is a perfect example with the Forest Management Agreements which we have previously explained. In Manitoba, the number of company towns is the indication that the previous government saw favourably actions by multinationals. The obvious positive short run effect of company towns is that they save governments money while they are under companies' ownership. The problem arises when the company decides that it would be more economical to shut down its operation in that location and move elsewhere. Governments have to step in and maintain the community, no matter how reduced it may be.

In some other provinces, Québec for example, there seems to be more willingness on the government's part to adopt a preventive and participatory approach. While private capital remains the principal decision-maker, it has to remain attentive to the public needs. Socially-oriented measures are more popular and likely more costly for the enterprise. Environmental measures are more stringent and the region's future has more importance in the eyes of governments.

But despite some differences in the approach from one province to another, economic conditions essentially remain the same.

The same type of cause to effect relationship that existed between physical and economic features also exists between economic and social conditions through the Mid-North.

While there is a direct link between geological formation and the extractive industries, there also exists a direct link between these industries and the social conditions they create. Traditionally, resource industries have generated boom-and-bust cycles. Migrations of workers and their families, provision of services to smaller settlements, education, health, welfare, training, dependence on outside decision-making, alienation, physical and psychological isolations, uncertainty about one's own future, are all consequences of the type of economic growth chosen as a basis of development.

It is clearly then this author's contention that the type of intervention in the form of a research centre is applicable to similar conditions in other parts of the country. In fact, the applicability of the concept may well be universal since economic motives underlie development in the majority of countries throughout the world, and since this economy is more and more concentrated in the hands of fewer large corporations. Again, the parallel between Third World countries and northern regions of

developed countries that was drawn in chapter 1 is indicative of that universal applicability of the model. The more the people of a given region will be able to participate in their own future, the closer the region will be to achieving development.

An examination of Canada's Mid-northern area shows that a number of contiguous regions could each benefit as much from a research centre as Northeastern Ontario. In each case the exact location of the centre would be decided after an examination of the conditions of various communities within the region, which one could best support a centre or has the best resources or the more facilities. But to give the reader a better understanding of the network mentioned earlier, the distribution of some centres could be as follows. To the east for instance, in Québec, three regions appear as having potential; i.e. Lower North Shore, with a possible location in Sept-Îles, its largest community; the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean region for which the centre's location could be Chicoutimi, again because of its major administrative role and the presence of university facilities; and Abitibi-Témiscamingue where, for the same reasons as in the previous choice, the location could be Rouyn-Noranda.

To the west of Northeastern Ontario, at least five regions can be identified. There is first Northwestern Ontario, by far the most isolated of all Ontario region and one that would likely greatly benefit from a research centre. The location in this case could be Thunder Bay because of its prominent role although it is situated outside the limits of the Mid-North as defined either by Hamelin or the CCRD. Also, there is a strong link between Thunder Bay and the rest of Northwestern Ontario. In Manitoba, there would be ground to pick Winnipeg as a location for the research centre, because of the concentration of most of the appropriate support facilities and because of the past history of the Center for Settlement Studies which has shown that it was possible to study northern conditions from outside and do a good job. However, since one of the purposes of the centre is also to help increase the North's self-sufficiency, a northern location is desirable. In Manitoba, it could be a toss up between two, i.e. Thompson and Churchill. While Thompson is more centrally located and would facilitate access to other northern Manitoba communities, Churchill would favour the inclusion of a vast portion of the Northwest Territories, particularly along the Hudson Bay coast.

In Saskatchewan, the absence of communities of importance within its northern region make the selection more difficult. La Ronge, which has become the northern administrative capital is in fact the only choice. However, there remains in this case the possibility of developing a centre in relation to the resources available at the department of Northern Studies at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. But again, given adequate support, a northern location in La Ronge is desirable.

Peace River could become the seat of a research centre for northern Alberta with the potential of serving two other regions, i.e. part of northern British Columbia as well as the Great Slave Lake region in the Northwest Territories, including the Yellowknife area.

Finally, the Yukon Territory would be serviced from a research centre located in Whitehorse, completing the network of research centres across Mid-Canada. (122)

122 There is no reason to believe that similar research centres could not be established in other regions of the country to fulfill the needs in certain specific areas, for instance urban problems, agriculture, etc...

In conclusion the author would like to emphasize the importance of establishing a network of research centres to address the problems of the Mid-North. Indeed, the point has been made throughout this thesis that no region within Mid-Canada can be taken in complete isolation from the rest, that they share common problems and that, together, they represent, along with the Far-North, the true nature of Canada, i.e. a northern country with vast resources and considerable potential. A network of research centres would have major consequences, not only on their own future but also on the future development of the entire Mid-North.

One direct consequence of the network would be in the expansion of the knowledge base with regard to conditions and solutions of the Mid-North. Despite the broad common features, there exists a number of variables that stems from specific situations in the various provincial Norths. For instance, Northeastern Ontario and Northwestern Québec, while they are adjoining regions with similar physical, social and economic conditions do not yet share a common approach to solving their weaknesses. Québec has adopted a much more people-oriented philosophy where participatory mechanisms have been set in motion many years ago. This means that, in the long-run, solu-

tions which will be put forward will have originated from a joint desire to go with a specific measure. The system of Regional Development Councils in Québec is one that has been in operation for many years and has the main advantage of establishing within the decision-making process a consultative mechanism for people to express their concerns. Similarly, the role of Office de Planification et de Développement du Québec (OPDQ) as a province-wide body preoccupied with planning has a positive impact in terms of removing the overall policy planning from the hands of ministries concerned with their own mandate and interests. A research centre located in Northwestern Québec would be in a position to document and evaluate the operation and success of the approach and communicate the results to its counterparts in other regions. The outcome of this increased cooperation between provinces and territories would result in substantial savings in money and energy in the search for adequate solutions. It could also favour the rise of a national approach to northern development.

A second consequence of establishing a network would be to increase the importance of research centres as actors in the policy-making process. The joint resour-

ces and expertise of six or seven centres would likely give them more weight and credibility in communicating their views.¹²³ At the same time, their regional base would tend to make them the channel of expression of regional concerns. Cooperation amongst the various members of the network could also increase their say in future courses of action since, as previously mentioned, the result could be in the formulation of national policies or programs.

The presence of more than one research centre also introduces the possibility of developing research specialization based on the specific conditions found in one region or another. For instance, minority groups in the context of northern development could be better studied in the context of a region where there exists a concentration of such groups. Saskatchewan could be well suited to emphasize research on native groups while Northeastern Ontario is characterized by its large francophone population. Northern Alberta or Northwestern Québec have a concentration of agricultural activities and may well

123 This advocacy role was developed in chapter 6.1

take advantage of it to develop new policies or evaluate existing ones.

Finally, the presence of a network would certainly make individual centres less vulnerable to outside interference that could affect their survival.

In the review of past experiences of research ventures in chapter 4, the fragility of isolated research efforts has been made clear, e.g. Center for Settlement Studies. The presence of more than one centre pursuing similar objectives would likely establish more firmly their role and their collective capacity to insure their future permanence. For instance, it would certainly be easier to negotiate funding agreements for ten or twelve centres than it would be for these ten or twelve to negotiate separately. This is in fact only applying the same principles as those used in collective bargaining. In a different area, the network's impact would be to facilitate access to staff resources by making this type of work more accessible and by training people in the centres' specific fields of interest.

It remains that the overall benefit of regional research centres across Mid-Canada would be to give the

North its real place in the national context by promoting its role as the most fundamental characteristic this country has and by making Canadians aware of the meaning of Canada as a northern country.

To paraphrase Richard Rohmer who suggested that Canadians need a new "national purpose", it may be time to start sharing his "dream or vision" and turn our collective mind to the North.

Synoptic Conclusion.

A wide spectrum of topics have been covered in this thesis. They range from broad theoretical concepts through physical descriptions to organizational details on specific projects to evaluations. They represent an attempt at preparing as comprehensive a scenario as possible of a more ordered and planned design for northern development.

In the early parts of the thesis, the notion of development has been deliberately studied in order to focus on what can be learned from our evaluation of development conditions in the so-called underdeveloped nations which we perceive only as African, Asiatic or South American. In order to identify clearly which of the 'Third World' conditions apply to our Canadian environment, a detailed description of the areas dealt with in this thesis--the Canadian Mid-North and Northeastern Ontario--have been prepared. These descriptions are necessary for four reasons: a) to understand the key components of that essential part of the Canadian faciès; b) to understand the dynamics of the regions - the aspirations and frustrations; c) to be able to place the model proposed into its real context and to be able to comprehend the changes it may lead to and the consequences of these changes on the people and the institutions of the North; and d) to grasp the impacts

these changes are likely to produce on the identity of the country as a whole.

In a more specific sense, the reference to Northeastern Ontario aims at showing that the approach to development, the inherent weaknesses in the system and the built-in protective devices that maintain the system are considered among the major conditions the proposed scenario would work to alleviate.

Having thus introduced the conceptual basis and the descriptive component, the alternative itself is presented. While it should not be seen as the only solution to the present conflicts with regard to development in Northern Canada, this two-component approach represents a viable and comprehensive strategy encompassing both research and decision-making. While the thesis focuses more on the research component by proposing the establishment of a regional research centre, it presents, through a reform in the local government structure, a mechanism whereby conditions would be put in place to allow for greater northern participation in the decision-making process.

In the end, it is hoped that the increased role in the future of the North would be paralleled by a decrease in the level of negative feelings characterizing northern residents, i.e. the frustration of being left out of policy

and decision-making, the psychological isolation from the 'mainstream' and the alienation created by the sense of parochialism so widespread at the local level.

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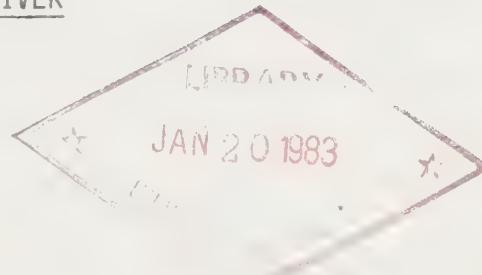


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LISTEN TO THE RIVER



Submitted by Frontier College
to the Ontario Royal Commission
on the Northern Environment

January 27th, 1983

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Listen to the River

This report has been written for the Anishnabeg of Armstrong, Collins, Ferland, Mud River, and Auden. We have chosen to use the Ojibway word Anishnabeg, because many of the people we spoke to objected to being called indian, metis, native, or aboriginal. In deference to these sentiments we are using the word by which they refer to themselves, Anishnabeg.

To be Anishnabeg is to be imbued of a culture and lifestyle. It crosses the boundaries of racial and legal categorization such as indian, non-status indian, and metis. It is a way of life.

This report has been prepared in two stages, the first involved an initial two week visit to the Armstrong area, and numerous interviews with both the Anishnabeg and non-Anishnabeg residents. A draft proposal was then written, and taken back into the communities to elicit comments. These comments were taken into account and the final draft written.

Our initial draft has been criticized because it was addressed specifically to the educational and developmental needs of the aboriginal residents "north of fifty". Admittedly, the Ontario Royal Commission on the Northern Environment's mandate covers all northern residents, however in the area of Armstrong the vast majority of the residents are Anishnabeg. Most of the residents "north of fifty" are either Cree or Anishnabeg.

In our experience they are indeed the last people to be considered in any major development. Their rate of underemployment is far greater than that of white northerners, and their educational and developmental needs are distinctly different, and sometimes diametrically opposed to those of the white populace.

For these reasons we have chosen to address ourselves solely to the needs of the Anishnabeg and other indigenous peoples "north of fifty".

One of the most important things we wish to express in this introduction is our deep sense of admiration for the Anishnabeg. They have survived and are continuing to survive under many difficult circumstances. As one social worker said, "I shudder to think what would happen to the average middle class white family if they were forced to live under similar conditions."

The Anishnabeg do not need our pity. Pity is three-quarters arrogance, and one-quarter uselessness. What they do need is to be listened to and their concerns heard.

Perhaps our ultimate reason for listening and lending assistance, if requested, is out of concern for our own society. In the long run it will do us immeasurable good to know that... yes we as a society still have the

human capacity to care and respect other human beings who choose to be different and separate from us, to recognize their humanity. There is much we can learn from each other, if we listen.

No culture remains static. It is however, a common assumption held by whites that the aboriginal people of Canada should either go back to their lifestyles of 300 years ago or become totally assimilated into modern white society. Neither of these options are realistic or fair. The Anishnabeg and all aboriginal peoples will be the sole pilots of their cultural ships. There cannot be, nor should there be, any attempt on the part of white society to influence this course of evolution.

This prejudice on the part of white society is often reflected in our attitudes to work and education. Many employers see the ability to conform to "our" traditional work and labour practices as a skill rather than what it really is a cultural tradition. The same tasks may be accomplished or the same knowledge acquired by different means. Some of these alternatives will be more appropriate to the dreams and hopes of residents North of 50 and in the long run may help white society "walk the way it talks".

It has been suggested to us that we should have recommended further socio-economic studies, both post and pre-development, to be carried out in Armstrong, and the rail communities. This is nonsense.

To date, there have been at least five studies we know of done on these communities, all of them expressing shock, disbelief, and outrage at the conditions they found. None of these studies, however, resulted in anything being done to alleviate the situation. The Anishnabeg are sick to death of researchers.

It is time for action, the problems are more than obvious.

Throughout this report we have interspersed quotations from Anishnabeg residents. Although these quotes may not seem to relate directly to the text of the report, we feel they convey the mood and flavour of living in Armstrong and the rail communities. Other quotes, vignettes of incidences, and situations have also been included. One criticism of the original draft was these were unprofessional. It is our considered opinion that an understandable report best serves the interest of all. Too often the language of "professional" reports sterilize the most important aspects the imagery and symbolism of ordinary people. It is this very imagery and symbolism which combine to form a peoples perception of themselves, where they are going, and where they want to go.

Frontier College

Frontier College is Canada's oldest adult education institution. We are a non-profit organization primarily concerned with adult literacy. Much of our work has involved the provision of adult education in remote wilderness

settings, hence the name "Frontier". To do this requires new and innovative approaches to education.

This report is based on years of practical experience of taking useful education to people in their own communities.

The Little Jackfish Report Recommendations

Major Recommendations

1. All major development corporations who operate "North of Fifty" be required by provincial legislation to provide funds for the training and education of Anishnabeg residents in the corporation's zone of socio-economic influence.
 - this should apply to all major development organizations, thereby including crown corporations, private enterprise, and government agencies.
 - in the case of Ontario Hydro and the proposed Little Jackfish River Project this provision of funds could be accomplished by a formula that would see 20¢ per man/hour expended on the project, set aside for adult education.
 - 75% of the estimated total of the fund would be available before the commencement of the development for adult education.
 - this fund would be administered locally by Anishnabeg residents.
 - funds for long term adult educational opportunities be provided by means of a surtax on the particular resource being extracted.
 - in the case of the Little Jackfish River Project this should be based on a 10% sur tax on the water rental fees Ontario Hydro currently pays to the provincial government.
2. All major development corporations be required by provincial legislation to hire 80% of the available male and female work force in the corporation's zone of socio-economic influence.

Further Recommendations

3. Anishnabeg women should be encouraged to take part in non-traditional employment

training, e.g. managerial positions and heavy equipment operation.

-50% of such training positions should be set aside for Anishnabeg women

-daycare should be made available free, to mothers who wish to undertake skills training or join the workforce.

4. The establishment of local Anishnabeg owned corporations should be encouraged, and these corporations should take part in any major developments.

-venture capital, training, and advisory services should be provided to prospective corporation participants

-tenders for sub-contracts should be advertised locally and preference given to local Anishnabeg sub-contractors when bids are assessed

5. Training and work should be made as flexible as possible fitting the job to the individual, not vice-versa.

-in the case of the Little Jackfish River Project this should involve "flex-time", job sharing, and scheduling work around major traditional cultural events.

6. Basic literacy training be provided for all of those persons who express a need, particularly in an on-the-job training setting, as well as in the classroom.

7. Life skills courses be offered to prepare the student for changes in his/her lifestyle. These courses should not be erosive to the students lifestyle, but merely an explanation of the new situations which he/she may encounter.

8. In no instance should the above two recommendations be used as a pre-condition to on-the-job training or appropriate employment.

9. Wherever possible classroom training be augmented by an on-the-job training component.

10. Specific programs in industrial safety and general industrial orientation be provided for prospective employees.

11. Business ventures should be of a small and manageable size and grow with the expertise and experience of the participants.

The purpose and scope of this report is to make concrete recommendations to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, concerning opportunities for education and employment in the communities of Collins, Armstrong, Mud River, Ferland, and Auden. The aim of these recommendations is to ensure the predominantly Anishnabeg populations of these communities receive the optimum benefit from development, while incurring the least detriment.

In particular these recommendations deal with Ontario Hydro's proposed Little Jackfish River Hydroelectric development, which if it is approved will commence sometime in 1984. These recommendations, however, should applied to all developments that take place "North of 50", thereby including crown corporations, private logging operations, or existing government agencies such as the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.

Little Jackfish 1982

Communities

- located on the Canadian National Railways line along the north shore of Lake Nipigon.
- population: Armstrong 500; Collins 130; Mud River 30; Ferland 110; Auden 135 (source: Ramsay Report).
- these figures are all high, since many families have moved to larger centres.
- 33% of the population is under the age of 15 in Armstrong (source: Ontario Hydro's Baseline Study).

Lack of Accessability

- with the exception of Armstrong and Auden all other communities can be reached only by rail or air transport.
- Auden is connected with Highway 11 by 85 miles of gravel road.
- goods and services are expensive, and scarce, particularly the fuel oil or gasoline, which owing to CNR's tariff regulations must be shipped only in freight vehicles.
- freight train will not stop in Ferland, Mud River or Auden.
- goods and services in Armstrong are somewhat cheaper because of the road link to Thunder Bay.
- most residents of the other rail communities use Armstrong as their source of supplies.
- since VIA Rail has cut back its passenger services a shopping trip to Armstrong involves staying over for two nights.

Although the distances between these communities are small, relative to today's automobile-owning-majority, the movement of goods and services has become, for them, a major impediment to development.

There is a very tall young man from Ferland, who every other day walks the ten mile round trip to the little grocery store in Mud River. His stride is long and light and he carries a walking staff. He is the grocery man for Ferland. Sometimes he has as many as seven or eight orders. These orders are kept separately in the numerous pockets of his clothing. They are written by him on little scraps of paper which are then wrapped around the estimated amount of money it will take to purchase the items.

After carefully reading a list to the storekeeper, he then pays for the goods with the money. The change and the list are then put back in the appropriate pocket. He then extracts another list from a different pocket and so the system goes until all of the lists have been answered. Flour, tea, cans of stew, sanitary pads, and chocolate bars.

This series of transactions takes about an hour and is punctuated by much good natured repartee between himself and the store keeper. During this time the young man consumes five Sweet Marie chocolate bars, one for every mile he must walk back to Ferland.

When all of the purchases have been made and the fifth chocolate bar eaten, he methodically, packs all of the goods into an enormous Deluth pack. On a heavy day it will weigh as much as 90 pounds.

Then he is gone, down the railway tracks, his long stride only slightly altered by the weight of his load, his staff swinging rhythmically out before him.

Housing

- inadequate: usually consisting of small uninsulated cabins of log or plywood frame construction.
- overcrowded: in some cases more than one family live in a dwelling, in extreme cases the Children's Aid Society may remove children from homes because of overcrowding.
- homes are heated by means of wood stoves, or where it can be afforded by oil stoves.
- electricity is available only in Armstrong and is not usually used by Anishnabeg. The source of power is diesel generated and is very expensive.
- sewage disposal for Anishnabeg usually consists of outdoor privies.
- water is hauled from communal wells, in many cases these wells are contaminated by the proximity of outdoor privies.
- at present a number of new "low income"

houses are being built in Armstrong.

Observations

The conditions in these communities are the result of isolation, lack of funds, and general bureaucratic neglect. In our estimation they are some of the worst to be found anywhere in Canada.

In the community of Ferland there is only one communal well for the 110 residents. The water from it is unfit to drink and is used for washing only. Drinking water must be hauled from a forest stream some distance from the community. Ferland itself is situated in a swamp.

(Inappropriate Education)

- provided to the level of grade eight in Collins, Armstrong and Auden.
- children from other communities are billeted out in the above three communities.
- all children, Anishnabeg and non-Anishnabeg are schooled on the assumption that English is their first language.
- in the case of Anishnabeg children this assumption is almost always incorrect.
- because of this lack of fluency the children are identified as disadvantaged and somewhat behind in their development.
- schooling is geared not to the student's need but to the system's.
- the school system's inability to enrich the child results in frustration and a negative self-image.
- schooling in Thunder Bay separates the student from his home, family, etc. and fails to meet the needs of the individual.

Observations

The situation where the first language of the student has come to be identified as English, stems from a mixture of English and Ojibway being spoken in the home. The English, spoken for the most part by the parents, is limited, while older members of the extended family tend to speak to the child in Ojibway only.

Mr. Fred Porter, Supervisory Principal of the Northern District School Area said he felt the native children came to school approximately two years behind in their development. He attributed this to a lack of stimulus in the home environment. Because children are two years behind the expectations and requirements of the school system, it is not valid to promote the myth of cultural deprivation. Perhaps the school system's inherent assumption that all children should be fully functional in English when they start school needs to be challenged.

In his report entitled "Secondary Education for Canadian Registered Indians, Dr. Joseph Couture aptly addresses these perceptions:

31. The two following statements are misconceptions:

- a. "Indian children are disadvantaged" - frequently an inappropriate perception. This argument contends that, because of their lack of readiness relative to dominant society school achievement criteria, Indian children get off to a bad start in non-Indian schools. The appropriate remedy is assumed to reside in the provision of 'compensatory education'. The remedialists fail to observe that virtually all children in the present school system are 'disadvantaged'. To hold that the grouping of children into two groups, i.e. those who do it "well" and those who do badly is unfavourably biased towards minority group children, and that grade level groupings, which is a deeply entrenched practise, does not accomodate individual differences and uniquenesses.

There is a tendency to provide programs which will help "disadvantaged" children to change (shape up). These children are regarded as culturally inferior, whereas it would be more appropriate to regard such children as simply functionally inferior relative to dominant society survival requirements. Little or no accomodation has been made of their "street" smarts, metaphoric/symbolic thinking abilities.

- b. "Indian students drop-out at alarming rates" - another inappropriate stance. This commonly made observation intimates that there is something wrong with the student, exclusive of the System.

It may well be more frequent than conventional wisdom and practise are prepared to admit that drop-outs are simply healthy respondents to an unrewarding situation."

-Dr. Joseph Couture former
Head of Native Studies
Trent University, currently
Professor at Athabasca Univ.

Because any schooling past grade eight must be obtained in Thunder Bay, and many students are not prepared to deal with the separation from home, family and friends, Anishnabeg success in secondary education is low. The student faced for the first time with a totally different social environment such as Thunder Bay may find themselves in trouble with alcohol, drugs, and/or the law. Many students return to their home communities by the time they have reached grade ten. It is interesting to note that students who successfully complete their secondary education are less likely to return to their home communities at all.

A Paucity of Adult Education Opportunities

- opportunities in these communities have been limited to a few sporadic federally funded upgrading programs.
- programs are of a prepackaged nature and seldom fit the needs of individuals.
- functional illiteracy among adults is a major problem, since many of their needs were not met by the school system.
- funding for adult education, particular upgrading, is unpredictable and directed not to the needs of the students but to the budgetary framework of the institutions involved.
- few courses in work-related subjects have been offered in the past:
 - Tourist Outfitting and Guiding courses in Collins.
 - Industrial Orientation in Armstrong
 - Community Aide Worker (Armstrong 1982-83)
- lack of employment opportunities for individuals graduating from these courses serves as a major de-motivator.

Observations

The major purveyor of adult education opportunities in this area is Confederation College's Continuing Education. Mr. Larry Hansen, Director of Community Programs for the College, stated that he and his staff were frustrated in their efforts to take more programs into these remote communities by a lack of funding and trained personnel.

The prepackaged nature of these courses tend to cram the student into a mold rather than be individually tailored to the students needs. In most cases the students view the programs as an alternative to welfare or unemployment insurance, which, given the circumstances, is not necessarily a bad or misguided conclusion.

Virtually everyone spoken to in these communities identified a strong need for a major increase in adult education opportunities of many types. At the top of the list was basic literacy and life skills training. This should be part of any on the job training program, but not be used as an end in itself.

Lack of Skills

- many Anishnabeg because they are functionally illiterate cannot meet job requirements
- the ability to fill out forms, follow up and set up work schedules, read instructions has never been taught

- many Anishnabeg do not have a drivers licence
- many Anishnabeg honestly don't know what is expected of them on the job site
- after losing a couple of jobs the worker becomes frustrated and quits trying to obtain employment

Observations

The lack of adequate skills is the major factor in the Anishnabeg's inability to obtain employment and or deal with the bureaucratic system in which he is enmeshed. He is being asked to play a game where the rules to the game are being withheld from him at the same time.

Mr. Don Elliot, district forester for the NMR, said he had trouble hiring Anishnabeg employees for all but the most menial of jobs since they had trouble filling out forms and following schedules. He also said he needed employees who had driver's licences, which most Anishnabeg do not have. He did not feel it was within his sphere of duty to provide driver education for Anishnabeg employees.

*"I had my driver's licence and took a first aid course.
I applied to the MNR for a job five times and never got one."*

Discriminatory Hiring

- employers stated the following list of reasons for not hiring Anishnabeg employees:
 - generally unreliable
 - problems with alcohol
 - lack of skills
 - would rather be on welfare

Observations

Most employers interviewed listed the above reasons for not hiring local Anishnabeg personnel. There are two exceptions to this general pattern. One is the C.N.R. which hires almost exclusively Anishnabeg for its section gangs. (This is changing since the implementation of the new "mobile section" policy, which encourages single male workers, to live in camps away from established communities.) The other is a small construction company which is currently building low rent houses in the community. In this case, the job superintendent said he found the Anishnabeg employees to be good conscientious workers, who after they were shown how to do a job, did excellent work. His only complaint was that they did not have trade skills such as plumbing or carpentry, so he could hire them exclusively rather than bringing in outside tradesmen.

Under Employment

- few jobs are available to Anishnabeg
- in the wage economy
- this is a result of their being denied access to appropriate skills
- unemployment for available male work-force in the rail communities is 68.5%

- the above figure does not take into account women who may also wish employment (source: Ramsay Report)
- with the exception of Armstrong and Collins the average yearly family income for the remainder of the communities is between \$3,000 and \$5,000. In the aforementioned communities it is between \$7,000 and \$11,000. (Source: Ramsay Report)
- because it is a staging point for government, and timber activities, Armstrong has lower rates of unemployment than the other communities
- a common source of income for many Anishnabeg is welfare
- traditional hunting and trapping activities are pursued but do not figure largely as a source of income.

"Welfare is a way of keeping us in our place. They give us just enough to survive on, just enough to keep our young people drunk."

Observations

A good case to illustrate the scarcity of work for Anishnabeg is the MNR. Of the M.N.R.'s 18 full time positions, (some of these are nine month contracts) none are filled by Anishnabeg personnel. Of their 12 summer employees none are Anishnabeg. This group is comprised primarily of outside students. The only portion of their hiring requirements, which Anishnabeg fill, is the staffing of summer fire crews. This work lasts for about five months and involves 24 employees, all of whom are hired locally, but not all of whom are Anishnabeg. It is interesting to note that fire crews are paid substantially less money than the students, who are brought in from other areas.

In some cases hunting and trapping activities supplement family income, but not to a very large degree. M.N.R. spokesman Don Elliot said the fur resource in this area is being inadequately harvested, however, he admitted the inaccessibility of many traplines made the transport of supplies and furs uneconomical.

The situation of underemployment is not a new one nor is it specific to the Little Jackfish area, all of these problems have been cited in the Federal Government's Task Force Report on Employment Opportunities for the 80s.

"The Indian, Inuit and Metis people experience the highest rates of unemployment of any group in the country. Not only have Canadian governments failed to provide them with the resources they need for employment, but when programs have been developed these people have not been consulted with respect to their own

needs and views. Their situation is complicated by the fact that in many cases Indian and Inuit communities are small and remote from the main urban centers. Consequently, it is often difficult to organize schools and other training programs which are both adequate and close enough to their communities.

Indians and other Natives are clearly subject to much discrimination in the labour market, and although they are an important potential source of skilled manpower in Canada's northern communities, the necessary training base has not been provided.

For Native people, a tremendous effort must be made on two fronts. First, to provide them with the resources to expand employment opportunities; and second, to give them the resources to train their people to fill these jobs once they are available."

The Result... A Self-Perpetuating Cycle
Poverty & Cultural Conflict

Root Cause

-economic and cultural disenfranchisement

The Cycle

* a child is born into the cycle where there is...

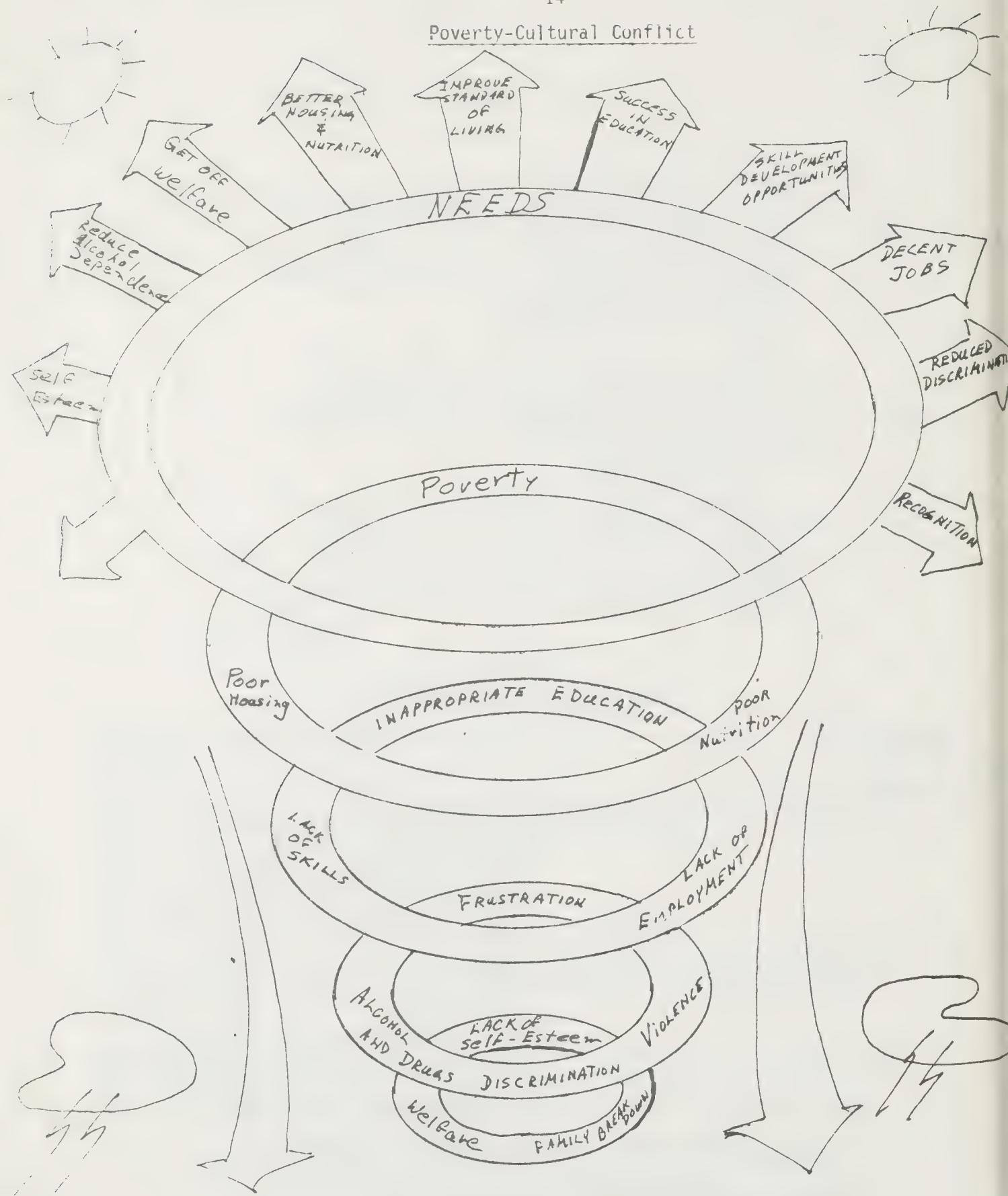
- inadequate housing and nutrition
- inappropriate schooling
- underemployment
- parents already caught in the cycle who have problems with alcohol and negative self image.

as a result of these circumstances the child...

- develops a poor image of himself and his culture
- is lacking in many basic skills
- cannot find employment to suit his needs
- becomes frustrated turns to alcohol
- becomes dependent on welfare.

"You talk about welfare. Who is on welfare anyway? Abitibi-Price, CNR, half the damned pulp industry, they get more welfare from government than anybody."

Poverty-Cultural Conflict



Observations

The cycle of poverty and cultural conflict has taken generations to become firmly established. It will not be changed tomorrow. At present it is aided and abetted by current government and bureaucratic practice.

By its very nature it is intricate and loops back into itself in so many ways that it is difficult to identify independent factors which could become the focal point of strategic action to break the cycle.

The cycle is also a method of survival for many Anishnabeg. Shocking as this may sound, the Anishnabeg have survived; they are still to a degree economically and psychologically free or striving to be free from assimilation.

Mr. Bartley Higgins, a former community development worker in Armstrong in 1970, cites this struggle for independence in a paper prepared for York University's Graduate Program in Interdisciplinary Studies in 1979:

"Whatever else one may say about it (alcoholism), they have managed to combine it, and the various social service and assistance programs, into a way of life in which they are but little subservient to local Whites in economic terms (that is, they only rarely are obliged to work for local Whites in a face-to-face situation).² In psychological terms they have if anything substantially increased their independence. They are the most powerful people in Armstrong in psychological terms; their drunken presence infuses Whites with a sense of alarm and irritation. The Whites tend to view them with mistrust and fear, quite the reverse of the way one normally thinks Indians and Whites regard each other. In this sense, the Indians may have hit on the only escape route out of the corner into which they were backed in the first half of the 20th century; they have become psychological "independentistes" of a most successful kind."

The Proposed Development

History

- two hydroelectric dams built on the Nipigon River in the 1920-1930s
- in 1942 waters from the James Bay lowlands were diverted into Lake Nipigon via the Little Jackfish River, (the Ogoki Diversion)
- following the Ogoki Diversion a third generating station was built on the Nipigon River at Pine Portage.

"Kineese, that old medicine man, he predicted his bones would lie under water and that one day we would see the whiteman's tracks across the sky. It all came true with the Ogoki Diversion flooding and the coming of the jet age."

Observations

All of these hydroelectric projects in some measure affected the water levels in the lake and caused problems for the Anishnabeg in the area by flooding their lands. In particular the Ogoki Diversion seems to be one of the final indignities that caused the Whitesand Reserve to be abandoned in the years following the Second World War. Most of these "status Indians" now live in the communities around Armstrong. They have never been given another reserve although negotiations for a reserve are still in progress.

The Ogoki Diversion has resulted in the increased siltation at Ombabika Bay and consequent deterioration of Pickerel spawning beds.

Rationale for Development

- hydroelectric generation is extremely economical compared to thermal-electric alternatives
- increased cost of fossil fuels for thermal electric generation
- perceived need for future power source
- reduce transmission losses in the movement of electricity from Southern Ontario station to Northwestern Ontario.

Observations

Ontario Hydro has found the use of hydroelectric power to be extremely economical, in that once constructed the plants are very cheap to operate, and the basic raw material of electric generation, flowing water, is unending. According to Ontario Hydro's own figures the existing generating stations on Lake Nipigon, in comparison with equivalent power generated from thermal electric sources, saves them in 1973 dollars \$11.6 million in energy and \$3.6 million in capacity per year. In a 1981 comparison with other sources of electrical energy, it takes 30.95 mils per kilowatt/hours for thermal generation, 14.49 mils per kilowatt/hours for nuclear generation, 5.56 mils per kilowatt/hour for hydraulic generation. (Source: Ontario Hydro).

Little Jackfish Proposal

- two hydroelectric dams to be installed on the Little Jackfish River 7.9 and 12.5 miles from the river's mouth.
- transmission lines will run down the east side of Lake Nipigon
- power generated will be used to service Northwestern Ontario
- construction tentatively scheduled to begin in 1984.

Observations

Ontario Hydro is undertaking numerous studies and is engaged in community liaison at this time, however, they maintain they are not yet sure they will go ahead with the proposed project.

Construction Procedures

- information not generally available to the public
- will require between 500 and 800 workers over a four year period
- most workers will be brought in from other areas of Ontario
- most workers will not bring their families
- workers will be housed at the construction site in single staff accomodation
- approximately 30-50 workers with families will be brought in, they will be housed at or near the site or in Armstrong - no decision has been made
- if the workers with families are housed at Armstrong they will use the existing school facilities
- if they are at site, school will be provided by Ontario Hydro to grade five, then they will be bused to Armstrong
- Armstrong will be the staging point for the development and a road will be built linking it to the construction site

Observations

At present information concerning any definite plans Ontario Hydro may have for the construction procedure is not publicly available.

Employment opportunities for Anishnabeg of the rail line communities will be few, as the current situation stands now, simply because most of them lack

the basic skills to participate in the project. Another problem, cited by Ontario Hydro officials, is the agreement it has made in the previous years with two labour union groups to hire only union workers. These two groups are the Electrical Power System Construction Associates, and the Ontario Trade Council.

Risks and Opportunities Created by Development

<u>Probable Risks</u>	<u>Potential Opportunities</u>
-little employment created for Anishnabeg	← ----- → create employment
-no educational opportunities	← ----- → create educational opportunities both short and long term
-no electricity for any of the rail communities	← ----- → electricity for all the rail communities
-erosion of Anishnabeg political strength in communities occupied by transient non-Anishnabeg workers	← -----
-negative environmental impact	← -----
-increased feeling of alienation and impotence among Anishnabeg	← -----
-increased physical and sexual violence against Anishnabeg women	← -----
-pressure from non-Anishnabeg parents to change education in schools to suit non-Anishnabeg standards rather than the needs of the Anishnabeg students	← -----
-increased alcoholism	← -----
-increase in alcohol-related violence	← -----

Observations

It would be foolish to argue that the Anishnabeg communities will receive no benefit from the proposed Little Jackfish River Project but, whether the benefits outweigh or even balance the detriments is another matter entirely.

On the benefit side there may well be some jobs available for local labour, if they can qualify. Certainly a segment of the non-Anishnabeg groups, who live primarily in Armstrong, will benefit from the influx of outsiders. In particular

the hospitality, retail, and timber sectors will stand to gain. These at present are all in the control of the non-Anishnabeg populace, and as has been stated before they have a poor record when it comes to hiring Anishnabeg workers.

It is usual in the case of massive development of this nature that the risks to the aboriginal residents far outweigh the opportunities.

Mr. Justice Thomas Berger points this out time and again in his report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry:

...Although some ameliorative measures can be taken to lessen the social impact of pipeline construction and related activity on the northern people, no one should think that these measures will prevent the further and serious deterioration of social and personal well-being in the native communities...

...With the pipeline, I should expect the high rate of alcohol consumption to persist and worsen. I should expect further erosion of native culture, further demoralization of the native people, and degradation and violence beyond anything previously seen in the Mackenzie Valley and the Western Arctic.

...The presence of a huge migrant labour force and the impact of construction over the years will mean that alcohol and drugs will become more serious problems. It is fanciful to think that greater opportunities for wage employment on a pipeline will stop or reverse the effects of past economic development.

...Finally, I am not prepared to accept that, in the case of an enormous project like the pipeline, there can be any real control over how much people will drink and over what the abuse of alcohol will do to their lives. There can be no control over how many families will break up, how many children will become delinquent and have criminal records, how many communities will see their young people drifting towards the larger urban centres, and how many people may be driven from a way of life they know to one they do not understand and in which they have no real place. Such problems are beyond anyone's power to control, but they will generate enormous social costs. Because these costs are, by and large, neither measurable nor assignable, we tend to forget them or to pretend they do not exist.

But with construction of a pipeline, they would occur, and the native people of the North, would then have to pay the price.

"We get used by the environmentalists and we get used by the corporations. We are the last people to be considered."

The Little Jackfish River Development, the way it is now being planned will not even address the risks which it is capable of off-setting.

As it stands today, Ontario Hydro, is not planning to hire a significant number of Anishnabeg. They have made only a passing mention of Armstrong receiving electrical power, and flatly refused to bring power into any of the other rail communities. Neither are they looking at providing even short term educational prospects for interested Anishnabeg workers.

A New Approach to Development Through Education (Maximising the Benefits)

"Give a man a fish feed him for a day,
Teach him to fish feed him for a lifetime
Show him how to run a fish farm..."

To try and bring about change in existing development patterns and to begin the long process of breaking down the well established poverty and cultural conflict cycle will require a new, and perhaps to some minds radical, approach to development strategies. These must include the Anishnabeg as an integral part of the development, both in the short and long term. This is a long term endeavour, and will not result in an instant turn around in existing problems. The new approach must also be carefully thought out and planned with continuous consultation with the Anishnabeg residents and organizations. So many of the past programs run by government have amounted to standing back and throwing money at the problems, which do not go away. In the end, because these programs fail, the blame comes somehow to rest on the victim, the Anishnabeg, resulting in a deepening frustration all the way around.

"I became politically aware when I was working for the CNR. We were working round the clock on a train wreck. Late that night I went with a friend who lived in Ferland to sleep at his house. He and his wife lay on one bed with their kid, and I laid on the other in this little shack. It was real drafty and cold in there and as I lay there I thought, "What the hell this is the 20th century and my people are still living like this. So, I decided to do something about it."

A New Approach to Education

Literacy: The primary concern and certainly the starting point for any successful long term educational program will be basic literacy. As has already been stated the functional educational levels of many Anishnabeg young people are very low, to the point of their being illiterate. Persons in this position are extremely disadvantaged in terms of their ability to get and hold down a job. No matter who you are or where you are in Canada today the ability to read and write is crucial to being able to participate fully in society.

It would be totally negligent on the part of any training program to plan a course of study without first assessing the level of literacy of those for whom the course is intended. Under no circumstances should a person's lack of reading and writing skills be used to deny him/her the opportunity to receive further training.

Life Skills: Secondarily, a life skills program should be offered in all cases to help the Anishnabeg student understand what is expected of him/her on the job site, and even more generally, how to cope with changes in his/her and the community's lifestyle. A number of people in the Armstrong area identified a strong need for a life skills program to help new owners of modern low income houses to deal with the complexities of modern appliances. A fuse panel can be a total mystery to anyone who has never had to deal with one before. Life skills must cover a broad spectrum.

The life skills programs should also strive to reaffirm Anishnabeg culture and values, and not be used as a method of further eroding the student's image of his own culture. It should be more or less an outlining of the rules of a new game, which he must understand if he is to participate. He need not reject his values and traditions to successfully play the new game.

Job Related Training: Of course, there will be a large demand for job specific training programs and these should be offered to anyone who wishes to improve his/her chances of gaining employment. Such courses might include heavy equipment operation and maintenance, carpentry, cutter-skidder, clerical and secretarial training, and any other job skills identified.

It is very important these courses be especially designed to eliminate sexual discrimination as well. Anishnabeg women should be encouraged to participate in non-traditional types of employment, if they so wish, as well as the more traditional secretarial positions. Day care should be provided for students with children.

Wherever possible training in the classroom should be augmented with an on-the-job training component. All of this training both on-the-job and in the classroom should be the most modern and up-to-date as possible. For example secretaries should not be trained on regular typewriters if most jobs require knowledge of word processors.

By giving training in state of the art equipment and techniques, whatever they be, the student is ensured of having a marketable job skill, not just for the immediate employment opportunity, but for other jobs in the future.

Programs in industrial safety and general orientation to industrial practices and the explanations of the role of unions should also be offered.

The implementation of the following recommendations from the Federal Government's task force Report on Employment Opportunities in the 80s, would do a great deal to improve job specific training:

...Since apprenticeship training should provide a balanced mix of on-the-job training and institutional training, there should be an effective program for alternation between presence in industry and presence in the institution. This would vary depending on the trade, the location of the industrial and institutional sites, and conditions in the industry. It would also require close cooperation between industry and education, and these should be in touch with each other frequently, preferably through industrial advisory training boards or community employment councils.

...The apprenticeship model should be expanded to include the newer trades, to assure higher quality and higher standards to meet modern demands for those trades and skills.

...The institutional part of apprenticeship training should provide sound academic training in the trade being learned, as well as the necessary general, physical and cultural education.

...Since we are moving into an age of greater technological change, apprentices should be provided with a sensible foundation in transferable skills (skills which can be used in more than one industry) so that they will be able to adapt and retrain throughout their working lives.

...Specific grade entrance requirements for apprenticeship are often restrictive. These should be made more flexible and take past experience into consideration.

Long Term Educational Opportunities

Looking to the Future: Since the Little Jackfish River Project will employ very few people after its initial construction phase, educational opportunities must be geared to creating skills that will assure the continued economic

prosperity of the individual and the community. To do this, future employment prospects must be identified and a means found to exploit them in the best interest of the Anishnabeg.

In Armstrong, and the rail communities there are a number of possibilities for long term projects, which have been identified. These include, the implementation of a tree nursery and reforestation program to make sure the forest resource is indeed renewable. (Source: Jellicoe Study)

Local Businesses: Training to equip Anishnabeg to best benefit from this should include a whole host of programs. Management training should be offered to those persons who will ultimately either set up or manage community corporations to exploit a particular resource. These corporations must be encouraged, if the communities are to become self sufficient and not always dealing with developers from the outside.

Among these management training positions half should be set aside for women. This is critical, since, women are the key to enhanced community awareness and cultural evolution.

The provision of day care for mothers will create jobs in early childhood education which can be filled locally while freeing other mothers to participate in other jobs in the community.

As well as management training, other programs to prepare Anishnabeg to successfully operate their companies should be offered. These programs should include clerical, secretarial, accounting, and supervisory skills training.

Other training based specifically on the resource project attempted should have be made available e.g. If a blackspruce seedling industry was started, courses in silviculture, forest management, and greenhouse operation would be necessary.

Natural Resource Based: The possibilities for future development in the rail communities is limited only to the imaginations and educational resources of the native residents. Fish stocking programs could be contracted through the N.N.R. to restock the depleted fish population of Lake Nipigon; fur farms could be started to tie in with the existing trapping program; increased use of the coarse fish resource, as a protein source for livestock and fertilizer; small logging companies might combine their operations with cyclical harvest and re-foresting activities.

Small is Beautiful: In any of these possibilities the resource development should be as flexible as possible. In other words a proposed fur farm should not be a multi-million dollar operation, it could be a small enterprise undertaken by one or two families. Logging companies need not lease thousands of

acres from the government, but take small cutting contracts. Once these contracts have been completed another is awarded, again for a small cutting area. To do otherwise would again be setting the individuals involved up for failure. It is much easier and in many cases more economical to operate a small endeavour than to go half-prepared into a massive project.

Individually Tailored: Educational training should also be tailored to suit the individual needs of the student rather than trying to cram him/her into a prepackaged mold. For example, the person who will be involved in a silviculture operation, does not necessarily need to be qualified to the level of a B.S.C. in forestry. He/she merely needs to have the skills that are required to successfully deal with the task set.

In many cases there is a confusion between skills and traditional business practice i.e. work from 9 to 5 is not a skill it is merely tradition. If the task may be successfully completed by working from 12 to 6, then why limit the employee for the sake of conformity?

Work and training schedules should be set up to take into account times when traditional Anishnabeg cultural activities will be occupying the worker/student. The traditional moose or góose hunting time would be a poor choice for offering educational programs or to stipulate that on-the-job training will take place.

Again, it must be emphasized that the student should not be made to fit into the southern non-Anishnabeg mold in either education, or in the way in which a business is run. The only criteria for success should be that he has the appropriate skills and knowledge to complete the task at hand. The work must accomodate the individual's needs not vice-versa.

Funding for the Education

To run quality educational programs that will be of any benefit, money is required, but, not necessarily a lot of money.

To offset the overall detrimental effects that most major developments have on Anishnabeg communities, the development company should be required by provincial legislation to allocate a certain amount of money for the provision of Anishnabeg adult education. This could be set up in a number of ways. The current agreement Ontario Hyrdo has with its unionized workers might serve as a model. That is, that for every man hour worked on the job site a certain amount will be contributed by Ontario Hydro for the training of the employees.

In the case of the Little Jackfish River Project the formula would be similar to this:

Using the assumption that each worker puts in only a 40 hour week, and projected over

the estimated manpower requirements for five years, the figure of 7.24 million man/hours is arrived at. A contribution of .20 cents per man/hour worked would result in a fund of \$1.4 million to be spent on all adult training.

Implementation: This money would be placed in a trust and would be available to a local adult education authority to be allocated to various education programs they designate. We do not feel this fund should be administered by the school board. The school board's primary responsibility is to provide elementary education, and the local board's control is heavily constrained by the current administrative and financial regulations laid down by the Ministry of Education.

If adult education needs are to be met it is essential that there be a much higher degree of local control and autonomy resting in the hands of the main stakeholders, the Anishnabeg.

This adult education authority would be able to borrow against the committed funds (up to 75% of the total estimated fund) to enable them to provide adult educational opportunities in advance of the proposed development.

Monies set aside by the developer for adult education need not be used to train students specifically for development-oriented jobs.

Long Term Funding: This development fund would serve to finance the short term educational requirements of the community. In the long term however, more funds would be needed to maintain programs after the development has taken place. This could come from a number of sources.

In regard to the Little Jackfish River Project, at present Ontario Hydro pays to provincial government an annual water fee. For the dams in the Nipigon River area this fee amounts to \$600,000 per year. A 10% sur tax on the Little Jackfish rental fee should be earmarked for the local education authority to be used to provide long term educational opportunities. A similar sur tax on every cord of lumber taken out by logging companies would also augment this fund.

Although these examples deal with crown and private corporations it should

apply to government organizations, who operate "north of fifty". In particular the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources should be required to provide training opportunities for Anishnabeg in their area of influence. The ultimate aim of this training is to replace transient employees, who are now brought in from outside the community, with Anishnabeg employees.

"I'm an alcoholic I guess. I don't know why I drink, I know its my problem...I used to have a job but I lost it because of drinking. Now I'm blacklisted and I haven't had a job for four years...This time I've been drinking for over three weeks, I'm scared to stop."

"In 1980 the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources brought in legislation making it mandatory for anyone who wished a trapper's licence to take a 30 hour course and write a comprehensive exam.

The course is usually offered through the local community college's extension program, which in the case of Armstrong and the rail communities, is Confederation College in Thunderbay.

All of the course material is in English and French as is the 50 question multiple choice exam. There are no provisions made for taking the exam orally or in any other language than English or French. Although, Cree and Ojibway translations are being prepared they will be of little value to the young Anishnabeg or Armstrong area, since few read syllables. Tuition fees for the course vary from \$30 to \$60.

Because many of the young Anishnabeg in Armstrong and area are functionally illiterate they are unable to get a trapper's license. Even if the person could read and write it would require 10 round trips to Thunderbay at \$40 a trip plus the cost of a night's accomodation for each round trip.

A New Approach to Development through Hiring

A Lost Resource: In past Ontario Hydro projects, that is to say in the 1940's and 1950s, local Anishnabeg were often employed because of their intimate familiarity with the northern environment and the topography of construction site areas. They were in the best position to determine where power corridors could be most easily run and where roads could be most easily cut. In those days Anishnabeg employees were often used to patrol power-line corridors with dog teams, something that no non-Anishnabeg engineer or technician was capable of doing. They truly had something to offer, and were respected for it.

This situation has changed because advances in technology now allow the patrolling of power lines by other more technically advanced means. It has also changed for a more insidious reason, that of simple educational discrimination.

Mr. John Chipman, a former Labour Relations Department Manager in charge of personnel, for Ontario Hydro recalls how he and two other men unwittingly set up a system of discriminatory hiring in 1948.

"...all of us were from Toronto, all of us had a university education, and we thought it was reasonable to assume that anyone who worked for Hydro should have at least a grade ten education. We were totally ignorant of the fact that we had just wiped out any future employment opportunities for a large segment of the northern native populations."

Ontario Hydro and other agencies who have similar educational discriminatory policies should reconsider the source of valuable environmental information they have shut themselves off from. In particular the older Anishnabeg who have experiential knowledge of climate, topography and other environmental factors which may be of as much use to the developing-corporation as any consulting engineer's report.

Local Hiring Policy: To ensure that the local Anishnabeg in the zone of socio-economic influence of major developments receive the most benefit from that development, legislation should be enacted at the provincial level to ensure a formula of a local-hire policy.

- . For major development such as the Little Jackfish River Project a mandatory hiring of 80% of the available male and female work force should be required. In relation to the Little Jackfish River Project this would amount to hiring approximately 274 out of the 330 estimate employable male workers available. Again this figure does not include employable females, who have until this time never been considered as a source of manpower.

This policy would not only apply to Ontario Hydro, but also to private corporations such as Great West Timber, their subcontractors, and government agencies such as the M.N.R. Also, small businesses, who receive government funds, such as local tourist outfitter, would be required to have Anishnabeg employees.

Of course, this policy is going to require an effort on the part of the developing corporation, to make sure that adequate education and training take place prior to the commencement of the development. Provision for such training would be assessed in the same way that engineering, and environmental preliminary work is now carried out, before a project is begun.

Jobs Now

"If you don't want to be the horse's hoof prints,
you've got to be the hooves".

Bruce Cockburn

In an effort to break the existing poverty and cultural conflict cycle, immediate employment is needed to provide a much needed success experience. This employment should be readily available when a major development takes place in the Anishnabeg's area.

As it is presently planned, Ontario Hydro's Little Jackfish River Project will provide very little employment for the Anishnabeg. The reasons given are lack of skills, unreliability, and previous commitments to union labour.

To accept these reasons and to not make a meaningful effort to change the situation can only be viewed then as perpetuating the cycle.

The Federal Task Force Report on Employment Opportunities in the 80s, recommends a number of steps to furthering aboriginal employment opportunities:

...There should be an Indian economic and employment strategy as well as an Indian education and training strategy developed principally by the Indian people themselves and in consultation with the government departments concerned. This must also be done for the Metis and non-status Indians in their communities and for the Inuit in the North.

...With respect to Indian employment, it is extremely important that there be a revised employment strategy and an Indian development fund. It is recommended that the Government establish, with appropriate funding, an Indian development fund for a period of five years. This fund should be set up in full consultation with the national and regional Indian associations and it should be administered

by the Indian people through their Bands and regional governments.

...There should be a concerted effort to train more Native teachers. Native counsellors and teachers aides for the high schools and community colleges where there is high Native enrollment.

Direct Employee Hiring: There are many ways in which the developing corporation can provide employment for local Anishnabeg. The first and most obvious way is to simply offer jobs to individuals as heavy equipment operators, carpenters, etc. This would involve some training of the individual in on-the-job setting accompanied by basic literacy training etc.

A slightly different way to offer employment would be to hire Anishnabeg to work in the service sectors which are set up to meet the needs of the project. This could be anything from the provision of food to janitorial services.

Local Contractors: Perhaps the most creative and in the long term the most beneficial way to offer employment would be to subcontract as many jobs and services to local Anishnabeg owned companies as possible. First encouragement and education would have to be provided to assist them in the setting up of these companies. Venture capital for fledgling Anishnabeg operated corporations should be provided either by the creation of an Anishnabeg Development Agency, or agreement with private corporations.

There are at the present time a number of courses being offered in the south for aboriginal manager trainees. Graduates from these programs could be encouraged to come and assist in the establishment of these community-based corporations.

Contracts for these services should be posted locally to anyone who is interested in setting up a small company could do so before tenders are required.

In the case of the Little Jackfish River Project, contracts could be awarded to cut the timber, which now grows in the area of the dam's head ponds. Some of this is merchantable and some of it is not. That which is not could be used for fuel wood either by Ontario Hydro at the site or by the nearby communities.

"You go into an Indian reserve and look at the houses they have been given: they're a mess. Then you go down to the lake and look at their boats they have had to buy and they're looked after."

Gradualism: Contracts should be awarded on a piece meal basis thereby avoiding the failure of a small corporation because it took on too much work and cannot

meet its contractual obligations. This policy would allow for the development of a number of small corporations to handle jobs in the same sector. It will also set the ground work for future corporations which will be dealing with long-term projects such as reforestation or peat extraction.

Jobs to Suit Individuals: It should be stressed that whatever the employment situation, allowances must be made to tailor the job environment to the worker. For example Ontario Hydro may have 500 acres of timber it wishes removed from its headpond areas. It contracts to a local company with the stipulation that the area be cleared by a certain date. That date should either be before or after any major traditional cultural activity such as moose hunting. By taking this into account they would avoid the possibility of the company failing to meet its contractual obligation because half of their employees were away hunting.

Flex Time: Flexible time tables and work sharing should also form a major component of the new employee/employer policies. If a certain job normally allotted to one man can be shared by two individuals, this will allow those individuals time to pursue traditional activities such as hunting or trapping while still getting the task at hand completed. They make more money than they normally would if they had just gone trapping and they are still in touch with their culture and identity.

Little Jackfish River Project 1992
A Realistic Scenario

The poverty and cultural conflict cycle has taken several generations to become firmly established in Anishnabeg Society and it is going to be a long time before that cycle is broken.

Today, if everyone in the rail communities around Armstrong were given, a job, a decent dwelling, appropriate education, and political autonomy, the problems that now exist would still be there. It takes a long time to unlearn a life-style, the devil you know is often much less frightening than the one you don't know.

The Little Jackfish River Project is scheduled to be completed in 1990. After that time there will be very few jobs connected with the two highly automated generating stations.

If a new creative approach has been taken to education and hiring in the course of the development the following situation might be expected to exist in the rail communities.

Several Anishnabeg owned and operated corporations will have been established and be exploring new ways to survive, i.e. reforestation and logging. Within these companies perhaps 10 or 15 Anishnabeg women will hold key positions. These women have access to daycare centres, which will be run by trained Anishnabeg personnel e.g. They will also have established a power base in the community and be seen as an example to other women and young girls of the changing role of women in society.

Perhaps as many as 60-70 formerly functionally illiterate young adults will now have the ability to read and write and will have had successful work experience. This will be an incentive to them to participate further both in education and employment. Many of these people will have a more positive self image. Alcohol and socialills will still be a major problem for the community, but there will have been established a central Anishnabeg run community agency to deal with problems and implement self-help programs.

In short, things will not be rosy. There will be a long road to travel yet, but a beginning has been made.

If this or a similar approach has not been followed, nothing will have changed after Little Jackfish, if it can be imagined it will probably be worse.

The dollars and cents cost of this inaction will be seen in increased medical expenses, welfare payments, prison maintenance, unemployment insurance, and the destruction of property.

The unseen costs will be wasted talent and enormous human suffering.

"The longest of journeys begins with but a
single step."

Confucius

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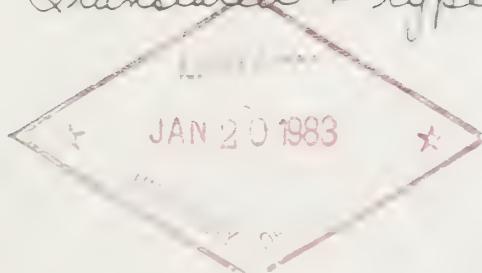
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Harri Meekis, Deer Lake, Ont

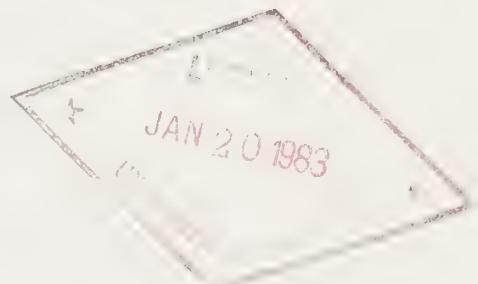
I am also writing a little bit. If there are changes, it will be no good for the Indian people. The fish and rabbit will be closed to the Indian people. And that is how my grandfather & grandmothers lived. I do not want to be prevented from what I used to live on, which is the meat, duck, rabbit, fish. I do not want changed what used to be in the past -

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PiEUT MEEKIS



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Pieut Meekis, Deer Lake, Ont.

If there are going to be any changes, it will not be good. If that happens, there will be no fish or rabbit for the Indian people to live on. That is how our grandfathers and grandmothers lived and survived. I do not want to lose what I used to live on, which is meat, duck, rabbit, fish. The way it used to be before I die not want changed.

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Frank Meekis

Translated & TYPED FROM ORIGINAL

Frank Meekis, Deer Lake, Ont.

I do not want changed the way my grandfather and grandmother used to live. I also want to live off what they lived off, ie, rabbit, meat, duck, fish. I also want to see no changes from this.



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Beatrice Ann Meekis

Translated & typed from original

Beatrice Ann Meekis, Deer Lake, Ont.

Same story. No changes. Want to live off the land and eat meat, rabbit, duck, fish as did the grandparents.



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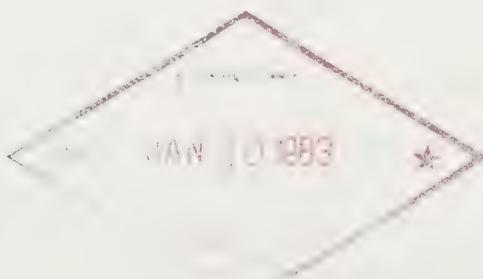
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STEWART MATTHEW MEEKIS

Translated & typed from original

STEWART MATTHEW MEEKIS

Deer Lake, Ont.

I do not want changes in regulations or the way things are.
I want to live the way my grandfather and grandmother lived.
The way they used to live off the land living on meat,
rabbit, duck, fish. That is what I want for things not to
be changed.



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PRESENTATION TO THE COCHRANE HEARINGS OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

by

Les Conseils régionaux de Cochrane/Iroquois Falls, Timmins
et du Grand Nord de l'Association
canadienne-française de l'Ontario.

PREAMBLE

The franco-ontarian population of Northern Ontario represents an important component of the regional demography. Established in some cases over a hundred years ago, this group has contributed greatly to the colonization and the development of the region.

But interestingly enough, little is known about their current level of participation in development. What position do they occupy and how has this position changed over the years? What is their perception of this role and how do they adapt to surrounding conditions? In turn, these questions lead to an interrogation about the impact of development on franco-ontarians themselves. Have there been negative consequences? Has it affected for instance their self-image or the quality of their language? Have they reaped as much benefit from northern development as they have invested? These are the types of questions that motivated our three regional councils to initiate a study of the francophone view point with regard to the development of the northern environment.

While the study was not intended to provide answers to all these questions, our objective was to produce a document outlining some components of the francophone image and of its representations. The approach was qualitative and perceptual

in the sense that we decided to tackle the question on the basis of opinions expressed by residents of the area during formal and informal consultations.

We also established certain working assumptions. One of them was that franco-ontarians did not seem to gain as much, as a group, from the impact of economic development. It seems to be particularly the case in the areas of language and culture.

Another assumption was the fact that francophones played, willingly or not, a much less active role than their numerical importance would lead one to believe. In other words, while they were a majority in many communities, they acted and were perceived as a minority.

A third is the fact that francophones do not have equal access to all key decision-making positions. In the economic field for instance, control was essentially inaccessible. In the areas of politics, it was difficult.

A final assumption was that the causes of the current state of francophones was mostly due to external factors, i.e. that their attitude with regard to their role originated from the conditions within which they lived, in other words that their social behavior was not so much hereditary as it was environmental.

In order to verify some of our assumptions, we established a method of collecting opinions and recommendations from the franco-ontarian population. The approach was two fold: 1) we identified key sectors of activity and listed contacts to

be made within the various communities; 2) we scheduled public meetings in Timmins, Iroquois Falls, Cochrane and Kapuskasing with the intention of providing to the population at large a forum to express views.

While the attendance at public meetings was limited, we were able to reach a substantial number of people through interviews. As we had expected, the results were fairly homogeneous throughout the study area. The following constitutes a summary of the major findings.

1. In the area of active economic participation, francophones play a major role at the small business level. Throughout the area, we can say that they can show as much entrepreneurial skills as any others group when it comes to ownership of stores and small commercial operations.
2. As we move up the scale, their participation decreases rapidly. Among the major industrial activities, lumber is the only one where we find an important level of involvement. But lumber is only the third largest activity after mining and pulp and paper where their presence is rather limited at the upper echelons.
3. The availability of professional services in french in the economic and financial sectors is deficient, particularly in the areas of written material. Consequently, unless they are prepared to spend time and money searching for French material (e.g. incorporation, loan applications, etc...), they have to use that available in English. The saying that English is the language of business is certainly true for Ontario.

4. As a result of this necessity to operate in English, it seems to have become increasingly accepted and acceptable to francophones. This has led, with time, to a decrease in the level of requests for French services and, as a consequence, to a further decrease in the already low availability of services. Indeed, many offer the low demand as a justification for not offering services in French.
5. French-speaking respondents generally indicated that francophones had as good a chance to succeed in business as any other individual - providing that they were able to speak English. Despite the strong percentage of French-speaking population in the area, very few thought bilingualism was necessary for English speaking entrepreneurs. The reason given was that francophones can all get by in English.

Those results were true for all communities, even for those like Hearst, where a vast majority of residents are franco-ontarians. It remains however that the situation is much more serious in communities characterized by the presence of a large employer such as a pulp and paper mill, where "power" is clearly defined in terms of the language it speaks (e.g. Iroquois Falls, Smooth Rock Falls and Kapuskasing).

6. As far as the rate of participation of francophones in professional groups and associations is concerned, they seem to prefer staying away. According to some active members of the business community to whom we talked, this might be caused by their perception of the nature of groups

such as the Chamber of Commerce, where control has traditionally been assumed by English-speaking members.

This observation relates as well to the situation in other areas of interest, where francophone representation has always been very moderate. If we look for instance at the composition/most boards of public agencies, representation is certainly not proportional to the population distribution.

We therefore find in the business communities the same pattern repeated. It could be argued that franco-ontarians have a social behavior that makes their involvement more difficult, especially since the guaranteed representation approach is lacking.

7. In the field of education and training, the level of services in French shows considerable deficiencies. Our survey of the region's high schools has clearly indicated that courses pertaining to economic, business or commercial streams were substantially less available to French-speaking pupils. This was particularly the case in mixed high schools were the majority of those courses were offered only in English.

It is therefore very difficult to expect a francophone graduating in commerce or business to be able to operate in French. We were offered as an explanation by many whom we interviewed at program levels that a shortage of material (e.g. books) in French was a major reason for the predominance of English courses.

However, the situation was much better in totally French schools such as Cité des Jeunes in Kapuskasing, which in fact proved that French students were just as inclined to take courses in business and commerce as their English counterparts.

One of the points we had indeed tried to clarify in our survey was the fact that it is often said francophones are not "attracted" to financial subjects at school, which would account for their lower level of active participation in later years. We found it to be true to the extent that accessibility to an adequate formation is much more limited. But when the facilities are available, they prove to be as interested and certainly as capable as anyone else.

While this may seem to state the obvious, it was certainly the case with some interviewees in large corporations who said with different words, that the low rate of francophone participation at high echelons was due to their deficient formal training and their apparent lack of motivation to accede to these postings.

The complete report which appears as an annex to this document presents a fuller discussion of the methodology, results and analysis.

The following recommendations which are excerpts from those included in the full report are those pertaining directly to the commission and the provincial government.

1. The first recommendation is corrective in nature and aims at solving the current problems faced by those already active in the business community. The above summary of the problems indicates that the provincial government could play a more active role in encouraging the participation of an active francophone business community in the North. To this end, we recommend:

- a) that more effort be put into making available services and materials in French, including legal documents, professional advice, technical assistance and the information necessary to establish a business.

This will require doing more than answering current demands as we have shown that this demand will not correspond to needs.

- b) that the province be more responsive to francophone needs by providing certain mechanisms of guaranteed representation especially on boards and commissions that have strong advisory and decision making powers.
- c) that the province establish a community based economic development commission, modeled on Quebec's "Conseil régional de développement", where representation would be proportional to the population and whose mandate would be to determine development objectives and priorities in order to allow every group to contribute to increased northern self-sufficiency.

2. The second recommendation is preventive and, as such, has a special significance for the long term. It deals with the necessity of adapting our educational system to respond more adequately than it has done so far to the special needs of franco-ontarians.

While we remain convinced that the most reasonable solution lies in the creation of French entities in every community and that this has been amply proven by the results of existing facilities (e.g. Cité des Jeunes, Thériault), we recommend that:

- a) more emphasis be placed on developing appropriate school material in French in the economic and commerce subject areas.
- b) an adequate curriculum be offered in all schools (including those remaining "mixed" schools) so that French students have an equal opportunity to take full programs in their own language. This is currently not the case and, in some instances, could even be considered irresponsible (ex.: Iroquois Falls where only one course in Economy in French is offered).
- c) the province be prepared to insure the provision of adequate services to francophones by monitoring more closely the decisions of school boards with regard to programs.

While we would have many more suggestions to make for improving life in Northern Ontario in general and its French-speaking population in particular, we think that the previous recommendations constitute a valid initial work agenda for our provincial government.

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DETOUR LAKE

AND THE

ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT ACT

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

BY



THE TOWN OF IROQUOIS FALLS

GINA M. FERNANDEZ - RESEARCH/WRITER

DECEMBER 1982

This submission has been prepared with the financial assistance of The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. However, no opinions, positions or recommendations expressed herein should be attributed to the Commission. They are solely the responsibility of the Town of Iroquois Falls.

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INTRODUCTION

The Detour Lake Venture is a project of considerable size whose impact will be felt for years to come. As a northern municipality the Town of Iroquois Falls is very interested in how this project developed and its final outcome. Of concern is the eventuality of future development in the vicinity of Detour Lake Mine and especially to the south of the mine as already a great number of claims have been staked. To date the mineral potential of the mine has not been realized. If new sources of gold, copper, silver, or any other minerals are discovered then further development will in all probability occur. The positive and negative effects of such developments are immense. With the operation of the mine beginning in August 1983 there is a need to comment on what has taken place. The majority of decisions have been made for sometime concerning the Detour Lake Venture and for this reason it is of great interest. The citizens of Iroquois Falls would like to participate in all developments that might affect them and to do so a better understanding of the decision-making processes as they occur is required. To examine what has already occurred is but the first step in the learning process.

A documentation concerning the limited involvement of the Town of Iroquois Falls in the development of Detour Lake Venture.

DETOUR LAKE MINE

In 1975, Amoco Canada Ltd. discovered gold approximately 150 km N.E. of Iroquois Falls and 13 km from the Quebec-Ontario boundary. During the succeeding two years various environmental studies were undertaken. In 1978, with the price of gold rising, feasibility studies to determine an appropriate plant site and tailings pond were carried out. By January 1979, Dome Mines Ltd. and its parent company, Campbell Red Lake Mines joined Amoco forming a joint venture.

In February 1980, Dome Mines told a meeting of ministerial officials that the company was "satisfied that there is an economically viable mine that will be placed into production".¹ It was not until the early part of 1981 that the company actually made any commitments to carry out the mine development. The lifespan of the mine has been estimated to be in excess of 20 years. At this stage of development the environmental assessment process could have been initiated, but as a private industry, the mine was not under the Environmental Assessment Act. Even so, the Minister of the Environment does have the legislative power to require an environmental assessment. The designate/no designate decision is solely that of the Minister. The public may not request a hearing; the Minister's decision is final.

The public was in general confusion as to whether or not the mine would proceed. Public knowledge of the content of negotiations between the government and the company was kept to a minimum, for obvious reasons. As it happened, by the time the public became aware of the development, and its inherent environmental impacts, it was too late for any effective public input.

Knowledge of the mine development at this point was becoming widespread. It was said that the mine was to be the largest gold producing mine in Canada. There had been no major discoveries in the mining industry for at least ten years. The majority of northern municipalities are dependant on natural resources for their livelihoods and one industry towns are the rule rather than the exception. When a particular industry suffers losses then whole towns feel the strain. Understandably a project of this size was indeed welcomed by most of the people living in the North. Places such as Iroquois Falls, Cochrane and Timmins were expected to receive spin-off benefits. Excluding those municipalities that were to be directly affected by the mine, most people were generally unaware of the environmental concerns and had no idea that the Environmental Assessment Act existed.

Figures released on anticipated benefits created a climate of expectancy. Many promises in terms of benefits were made through extensive media publications and government representatives. Few considered the possibility of no benefits and it now appears that many expectations will not be realized. Public participation was not of paramount importance to the company.

To date, a townsite at the mine has not been planned. The company has not stated that there will not be a townsite but only that it is not feasible at the present time. The system at the mine is to be seven days working and seven days off. If indeed there is to be no townsite, those workers not able to return to their homes will be staying in towns such as Iroquois Falls, Cochrane and Timmins. Considering the life expectancy of the mine, it is reasonable to expect that some workers may decide to establish residence in these towns. Consideration should be given to the possible social and economic impacts this could have on these communities.

* As there is a strong indication that development of other mines in the vicinity of Detour Lake will occur, it may become feasible on the other hand to construct a townsite in the area. If that is the case, there will be no benefits to existing communities from these resource developments.

The services and facilities in our communities are many and all are not being utilized at full capacity. The population in many northern communities is in decline and this in itself poses new problems.² The upkeep of services and facilities regardless of usage is necessary. With fewer people to support the town, each individual's share of the costs must inevitably increase and hence produce a gradual weakening of the economic base. The solution is obvious, a no townsite decision, now and for the future is imperative. Existing services and facilities must be utilized.

Perhaps the only decision remaining is where the copper will be smelted. According to a telephone conversation with a spokesman for the Detour Lake Mine in December 1982, no smelting contract had been signed with any mining company. He did say that the two companies to be considered for smelting were Noranda in Quebec and Kidd Creek Mines in Timmins. When asked what the guidelines would be in choosing between them he indicated that the following criteria would be considered:

- (1) transportation costs from Detour Lake Mine to smelter

Note: the distance is much shorter to Kidd Creek

- (2) the cost of smelting the copper

- (3) a guarantee that the company could be provided with a contract on a long-term basis

Note: He mentioned that Kidd Creek would be better able to handle such a contract

- (4) it was preferable that the contract be kept in Ontario

These guidelines seem to strongly suggest a contract for Kidd Creek Mines if they are interested. Kidd Creek has a smelter which has been in operation for over a year. According to a spokesman from the mine their smelter is not large enough to accommodate the load from Detour Lake Mine. Perhaps some consideration should be given to enlarging it. It is anticipated that initial copper production from the Detour Lake Mine will be approximately seventy tons a week. While this is not a large amount in the mining industry, on a long-term basis and with potential for greater amounts, surely it should not be ignored. How long it will take for our economy to recover from its present slump is unknown. The mining industry is at a low ebb and with hundreds of miners unemployed at the present time, should this opportunity potential employment be lost?

Hopefully the provincial government, the affected municipalities and the company can work together to reach an equitable solution to ensure that economic benefits are kept in Ontario.

TRANSMISSION LINE

Introduction

When studies were first done to establish the mineral potential of the mine, the joint companies felt that the required electrical power supplied from diesel fuelled generators would be sufficient. Further studies revealed mineral potential greater than was expected. The joint companies realized that diesel-fuelled generators would be unable to supply the amount of power required to operate the mine-mill complex, the campsite and other associated facilities. Hence, the joint companies decided that a power line would be required.

Ontario Hydro had spent many months conducting a complete environmental assessment study for a route selection from Hunt a to the mine. A complete environmental assessment study with public participation as a very large factor requires a minimum of two years to complete. Mechanisms which corroborate Ontario Hydro's responsibility to the concept of open planning are:³

- (1) citizens working committees
- (2) public information centres
- (3) public meetings
- (4) speaking engagements
- (5) field trips of hydro facilities
- (6) field contacts (one-to-one discussions)
- (7) media (news releases, feature articles, advertisements)
- (8) letters

- (9) minutes of meetings
- (10) status reports
- (11) background material
- (12) Ontario Hydro Resource Staff

Ontario Hydro has prepared a document entitled PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ROUTE AND SITE PLANNING. This general document applying to all Hydro route studies;

- (1) describes the public participation process as it evolved up to 1980
- (2) reviews the reasons for involving the public
- (3) discusses the role of the public in Ontario Hydro's planning studies
- (4) discusses methods of participation
- (5) discusses the means of evaluating the effectiveness of the public participation program₄

Because of time and cost constraints, Campbell Red Lake Mines decided to construct the line themselves. Private firms are not obligated to meet the required criteria of the E.A. Act. The company chose not to follow the route proposed by Ontario Hydro, that route being from the Hunta Station, East across Cochrane to the Detour Lake Road and then following the line of the road to the mine. Instead a route was chosen just south of Kattawagami Lake and would then follow the road alignment to the site. The reasons behind this decision are given in the ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE TRANSMISSION ALIGNMENTS document prepared by The Environmental Applications Group Ltd. for the Detour Lake Venture. They were as follows:

- (1) The cost differential between the two alignment options is considerable. Even higher construction costs would be

- (1) incurred if the Hunta route were to follow the proposed Detour road alignment exactly, as was recommended by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.
- (2) Future land use restrictions and short-term disruption would be experienced by urban-agricultural communities during and subsequent to construction phases of the project.
- (3) There appears to be little basis for assuming that negative impacts on the fly-in tourist outfitter industry, including decreased revenues, would result from power line construction.
- (4) The length of the Hunta route is such that construction would have to take place during warm weather periods, as well as during the winter, thereby increasing potentials for soil erosion and further disturbances to urban and agricultural areas.⁵

DETOUR LAKE ROAD

The problems begin with the proponency issue; the question of who was to fund the road and whether the E.A. Act was or was not to apply. The government's main interest in building the road was desire to keep the benefits of the mine in Ontario. "Quebec had already offered to construct a road to the provincial boundary free of charge to the company".⁶ To connect the mine site to the Quebec boundary would be very much shorter than to link it to established roads in Ontario.

Needless to say the company would have chosen the route to Quebec if the Ontario government hadn't offered to pay for the majority of the road.

The government was to construct approximately 120 km of the road from the end of Highway 652 to the Kattawagami River and the company

was to build the remaining 40 km to the Detour Lake mine site. As a government sponsored road with the Ministry of Transportations and Communications as the proponent, the Detour Lake road became immediately subject to the Act.

The Environmental Applications Group was hired by the M.T.C. to prepare the required E.A. document. In a volume that is about six inches thick only one and a half pages under the heading of PUBLIC PARTICIPATION covered the public's concerns.

The public was given a chance to express opinions in a very informal meeting on December 16, 1980, in Cochrane. At this time an opportunity was given to "examine the proposed road alignment and consider all issues relating to it...". It should be noted at this point that a route had already been selected from a number of proposals.

In addition to this public meeting the company made contact with "knowledgeable individuals in the region (namely 20 or 30) for the purpose of identifying information sources and examining concerns related to the road development". These contacts were made through written correspondence, telephone conversations, and meetings. Information in the form of pamphlets, maps, and verbal presentations stressed the benefits of the mine development and did not discuss the environmental affects to any great extent.

As events unfolded the Detour Lake road was exempted from the E.A. Act before the public had the opportunity to review the E.A. document.

From an article in the Northland Post on December 8, 1982, the V.P. of operations with Campbell Red Lake Mines noted that supplies had been hauled to the site on a winter road that runs from LaSarre, Quebec.

It was indicated that this was a temporary situation that would end when the Detour Lake road was completed.

From a different article of the same paper, a member of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing's Community Planning Advisory Branch (C.P.A.D.), Mr. Ken Beadman commented that "one major factor is the mine may fly workers into the mine on a weekly basis from Timmins and Cochrane", hinting that the Detour Lake road may not be used as heavily as initially anticipated. This comment is in referral to the C.P.A.D.'s recently completed community impact study.

The implications of this article indicate the need for government, industry, and Ontario suppliers to work together to assure that the road be utilized to supply the requirements of the mine from Ontario sources.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT ACT IN APPLICATION

The E.A. Act passed through the legislature in 1975. In the last seven years there has been much said regarding the viability of the Act. As our "environment" is one of continuous change and as the E.A. Act is still very young, an ongoing examination of the Act is necessary in order to ensure that the purpose of the Act can and will be implemented.

The definition of the environment in the Act is very broad. It includes not only the natural environment but man as well. Social, economic, cultural and environmental factors are therefore to be taken into account in all environmental assessments.

The purpose of the Act as stated in section two "is the betterment of the people of the whole or any part of Ontario by providing for the

protection, conservation and wise management in Ontario of the environment". But does the Act so provide? Are all decisions made with regards to possible benefits and the alleviation and prevention of any adverse effects to the environment?

The North's resources are being continually utilized. As developments occur northern residents are left to deal with the problems that directly result from such developments. It is believed that local residents should have first priority in the use and benefits derived from the resources of this region. It might be considered to be Northern Benefits Package.

Under Section 14(1) (v) in the E.A. Act, "where the Minister has accepted an environmental assessment of an undertaking ... he may designate that the proponent enter into one or more agreements related to the undertaking with any person with respect to such matters as the Minister considers necessary".

APPLICATION OF THE ACT

Private Undertakings

The Environmental Assessment Act applies to every undertaking in the public sector unless otherwise exempted; undertakings in the private sector are exempted unless so designated. Section 3(b) of the Act states that the Act will apply to private undertakings only on and after a day to be proclaimed. That to date has not occurred.

LAND USE PLANS

Final decisions on the Ministry of Natural Resources' land use plans are expected to be made this month and will be operational until the year 2000. Although they are subject to the Act, they had been exempted until July 1979. Although the exemption was not renewed, land use planning was

not made to comply with the regulations under the E.A. Act from July 1979 to the present time. Land Use Plans cover all areas of management regarding:

- (1) mineral resources
- (2) forest resources
- (3) aggregate resources
- (4) agricultural resources
- (5) fisheries resources
- (6) wildlife resources
- (7) provincial parks
- (8) crown land resources
- (9) cottaging
- (10) land and water₇

Certainly these resources are the very things that make up the definition of the environment in the E.A. Act. The purpose of the Act includes the "wise management in Ontario of the environment" and hence Land Use Plans should be prepared in conjunction with the E.A. Act. One might note that the M.N.R.'s policy of public participation and their approach to the development of the L.U.P.'s are quite conducive to the protection of the environment.

FOREST MANAGEMENT AGREEMENTS

Forest activities go back to Canada's early settlement years. Although F.M.A.'s were first signed in 1979 their history can be traced to 1849 with the first Crown Timber Act. Government throughout the years has realized the importance of improved forest management and planning. Northern communities such as Iroquois Falls, Smooth Rock Falls, Kapuskasing, etc. derive their livelihoods from the forest industry. It is imperative that they are protected. Forest management agreements are exempt from the E.A. Act until December 31, 1982.

F.M.A.'s in conjunction with the E.A. Act could provide a further stabilizing element between the wood processing companies' economic goals and the stability of our forest resources.

PROBLEMS OF APPLICABILITY OF THE ACT

There are many "snags" and "hitches" in the Act's application which must be contended with. The exemption process warrants closer examination and recommendations thereof.

Adequate time has been allotted for the phasing-in process to occur. By now the private sector should be well acquainted with the Act and further exemptions or renewal of exemptions should occur only in those cases where a project is considered to be environmentally insignificant. The Ministry of the Environment has allowed such projects that fall within the provisions of Section 44 to be exempt from the legislation of Act during this phasing-in period. Many projects have a lifespan of ten, twenty years, or longer and have been exonerated because of the "grand-father clause" (i.e. Section 44). Provisions have had to be made to allow for the phasing-in of such projects within a given amount of time, otherwise, undue hardship would have been created for the proponents of such projects.

Careful scrutiny of Section 29 reveals the powers of the Minister to exempt an undertaking where he "is in the opinion that it is in the public interest..." Section 40(f) gives further powers to the Lieutenant Governor in Council. He may exempt any undertaking without due cause or reason. This does not insinuate that this is in fact the case but a clear definition of authority and duty should be stipulated. One should not have to presume when dealing with the "letter of the law".

In reference to "in the opinion", such decisions should not be forced upon one individual but, in accordance with the democratic system, they should be representative of all parties involved.

A clear definition of "the public interest" is required to ensure that the decision to exempt is based on solid reasoning. There is a constant confrontation between economic development and environmental protection. Guidelines must be developed in order to arrive at the most viable trade-off. Where in most cases development infers adverse environmental impacts, compromises must be made. There should be no clear winner or loser, but rather a sharing of the benefits and the responsibilities.

Once a clear definition between "environmentally significant" and "environmentally insignificant" is established, the Class E.A. becomes less of a problem. A "bump up" process is necessary to prevent an environmentally significant project from remaining under a Class E.A. designation. The tendency for proponents to lump as many projects under one class is inevitable. Examination of projects under Class E.A.'s should be a continuous process to prohibit this practice.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE E.A. ACT

Public Participation in E.A.'s

The E.A. Act with respect to the meaning of environment encompasses a vast array of activities that occur everyday in local communities. A multitude of decisions are made regarding these activities and there is considerable concern with how the public component is represented in the decision-making process of the E.A. Act.

Section 7(2) of the E.A. Act allows the public to review the environmental assessment document once notice has been given of its acceptance by the Minister of the Environment. The process is initiated when the proponent, with certain objectives in mind, identifies all alternative ways and methods of achieving the objectives. After examination, the most acceptable alternative and method is chosen and put forward as the undertaking. If given approval the proponent prepares an E.A. of the undertaking subject to Section 5(3) of the E.A. Act. Throughout this process, the proponent is not required by any regulation(s) in the Act to incorporate public opinion.

Even so the M.O.E. has prepared GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR THE PREPARATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENTS. These guidelines suggest to the proponent the desirability of the public component in the preparation of environmental assessment.

"Public involvement is of particular importance in choosing the most acceptable alternative."

"During the planning process ... the proponent is strongly advised to involve the public. It can be of great assistance to the proponent in preparing the E.A. document, and in facilitating its passage through the review process and public hearing (if held)."

"The proponent is likely to be on firmer ground if evidence can be presented of previous consultation with those likely to be affected by the undertaking or its alternatives."

"Such public involvement can identify background information and local perspectives possibly previously unknown to the proponent, and can provide data on public goals, attitudes and values. Public participation early in the planning process may highlight areas of public concern, perhaps thereby helping to avoid confrontation between proponent and public, and consequent delay of the proposal. The public may also put forward alternative solutions to problems which otherwise would not have been perceived."⁸

The Class E.A. deserves separate comment. Class E.A.'s are relatively small in scale, recur frequently and have a generally predictable range of effects.

What is of concern is that the number of undertakings under one Class E.A. is unlimited and there will be many decisions made concerning different projects, perhaps in different areas. One must be extremely careful however, in defining the public component in the Class E.A. As projects under one Class E.A. are "likely to cause relatively minor effects in most cases", there exists the possibility of superfluous public representation. The Class E.A. is necessary to prevent the duplication of information and hence the resultant loss of time and money. Perhaps, the Class E.A. is not used to the extent possible, especially on the municipal level, where from town to town developments are generally of the same type. That is development relating to waterworks, landfill sites, road construction, etc... Of course the possibility exists that one or more projects under a Class E.A. will cause major effects. As was discussed earlier a "bump up" process would facilitate the proceedings that would be required.

The M.O.E. has given separate suggestions in the GUIDELINES with respect to the public component in the Class E.A. document.

"the means of ensuring public access to and participation in the process should be stated"

"With regard to class undertakings, the proponent should outline, in the Class environmental assessment document, the mandatory and discretionary opportunities which will be provided for public participation as an integral part of decision-making for each project within the Class."

"The proponent should remember that ... a public hearing on the Class E.A. itself (if held) before the E.A.B. may take place only

once. It is therefore very important that the procedure for public involvement in the planning process of the various projects under the terms of the Class E.A. be clearly set out."

"The Class E.A. should also describe the criteria and procedures by which the proponent or the public may require a "specific" environmental assessment to be prepared for a particular project within the class."⁹

It should be noted that the GUIDELINES are purely advisory.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN E.A.B. HEARINGS

Section 7(2) of the E.A. Act makes provisions for the public to request a hearing with regards to the undertaking, the environmental assessment and the review of the E.A. document within 30 days (or such longer period as may be stated) of the giving of notice in accordance with Section 7(1). In reference to Section 7(1):

"... the Minister shall give notice of

- (i) the receipt of the assessment,
- (ii) the completion of the preparation of the review,
- (iii) the place or places where the assessment and review may be inspected, and
- (iv) such other matters as the Minister considers necessary or advisable,..."

This means that up to four notices will be given. Section 7(2) states, "within 30 days of the giving of notice". Which notice is being referred to? It is not stated.

One might also wonder what is included in the Minister's decision regarding a time extension? Is the public fairly represented in this decision?

PUBLIC AWARENESS

Steps should be taken to improve public participation in the Act. The decision-making process will be incomplete if the public is unaware of the Act, the proceedings under it and their rights with respect to the Act. Section 32(d)(e) of the Act makes provisions for the necessary education of the public with respect to the environment or environmental assessments.

PUBLIC FUNDING

The Minister under Section 32(f) may,

"make grants and loans for research or the training of persons with respect to the environment or environmental assessments in such amounts and upon such terms and conditions as the Minister, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, may determine;"

This fails to provide the public with sufficient funding if they are to participate in the decision-making process. A substantial amount of money is needed for research in order to prepare a submission before the hearing and to cover the costs for the hearing(s) itself. Most interest groups, individuals and/or municipalities are financially unable to prepare for a hearing(s). Interested parties may have no option but to back out of the proceedings if more than one hearing is necessary, as is often the case.

If these parties are to be fairly represented in any and all decisions made with regards to the environment, funding must be provided.

It should be noted that the Consolidated Hearings Act which was passed in 1981 does provide for the cost of hearings before the Board. The E.A. Act must be updated to allow for the same provisions.

GENERAL AND SPECIFIC GUIDELINES
FOR THE PREPARATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENTS

In the discussions on public participation in the E.A. Act, one fact remains clear concerning the GENERAL GUIDELINES; they are merely advisory. These guidelines could be more effective as a tool for the preparation of environmental assessments. Phrases such as "should contain", "should outline", "the proponent is strongly advised", are of little value as the proponent is given maximum flexibility. These guidelines must be streamlined so that there is no doubt as to what should be contained in the E.A. document.

In addition to the GENERAL GUIDELINES the M.O.E. "may prepare generic guidelines to assist the proponent in preparing environmental assessments."¹⁰ These generic guidelines are prepared in such cases where there is the possibility that there might be submitted many specific undertakings of a similar type. If many such undertakings are being submitted then, the M.O.E. should be able to prepare 'specific' rather than 'generic' guidelines.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REVISION OF THE E.A. ACT

1. So that the E.A. Act can be implemented as to its purpose, it is recommended that undertakings by private industries be subject to the Act to the same extent as municipal and provincial sectors.

2. It is recommended that the public interest should be represented in the E.A. Act to a greater extent. Recommendations in the GENERAL GUIDELINES for public participation to the proponent are insufficient.
3. It is recommended that Section 7(1) of the Act be revised so that notice shall be given:
 - (i) where an undertaking has been made subject or has been designated, under the Act
 - (ii) where an undertaking has not been designated under the Act
 - (iii) of the completion of the specific guidelines
 - (iv) of the date of the E.A.B. hearing (if held), and the place where it shall be heldin addition to those already mentioned; by the Ministry to those persons as stated in Section 7(1).
4. In order to promote improved public awareness of the Act and the proceedings under the Act, the Minister should further implement such mechanisms as described in Section 32(d) and 32(e).
5. Where municipalities and the public in general are unable to obtain sufficient monies for:
 - (i) preparation of presentations for hearings before the Board, and/or;
 - (ii) the costs of hearings before the Board;It is recommended that funding be provided.

A regulation body would be needed to:

 - (i) ensure proper distribution of funds
 - (ii) determine who should be responsible for the payment of such funds

6. In order to avoid issues of proponency designation where both government and private industry are involved such designation should be clearly defined in the E.A. Act. The following are options for consideration:
 - (i) The E.A. Act be revised to give the power to the Minister of the Environment to designate the proponent, or our preferred option;
 - (ii) The Minister of the Environment could initiate a process in which potential proponents would arrive at a mutual agreement regarding the proponency of stipulated undertakings. Failing such agreement, the responsibility of the decision would revert to the Minister, solely, and his decision would be final.
7. In review of the GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR THE PREPARATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENTS, the Guidelines, to better support the E.A. Act, should become policy specifying the step by step requirements of the Act.
To ensure that proponents fulfill the requirements of Section 5(3) in the E.A. document, monitoring should occur throughout its preparation so that any deficiencies in the document can be rectified before it is complete.
8. A separate monitoring body could be created to ensure that all exemption approvals are made in accordance with the purpose, and the regulations of the Act. It could be called the EXEMPTIONS ADVISORY BOARD. As well, the monitoring body could make recommendations to alter the E.A. Act which would reflect the changing environment.

9. The E.A. Board should require specific contractual agreements concerning local northern benefits to be signed between the involved town(s) and proponent(s) as a condition for the approval of the undertaking. Benefits accruing from developments North of 50th parallel should be distributed to those communities South of 50th parallel as they experience the negative effects of resource development North of 50th parallel.

RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

- i) Concerning the Ontario government's general employment policy with Quebec.

There are a number of Quebec residents that have received permission by the Ontario government to work in Ontario while still residing in Quebec. This practice, however has not been reciprocated by the Quebec government. Jobs are being given to Quebecers while the unemployment rate in Ontario continues to escalate. The Ontario government's primary concern should be for the people of Ontario. Although the unemployment rate in Quebec has been higher than that in Ontario for all of this year, this does not negate the fact that we in Ontario and especially those industry towns are as well facing a grave unemployment situation. Perhaps the Ontario government's general policy regarding this matter needs to be reviewed. They must be made aware of this ongoing problem.

A presentation from THE COCHRANE AND AREA SKIDDER, TRUCKERS AND HEAVY EQUIPMENT ASSOCIATION has already been given concerning this issue.¹¹ They have gone into great detail and in their recommendations urge the Ontario government to act on behalf of workers in Ontario. We support their recommendations.

This recommendation concurs with #9.

- ii) It is recommended that the present exemptions on Land Use Plans and Forest Management Agreements not be renewed.

APPENDIX A

DETOUR LAKE GOLD EXPLORATION MIGHT BE JUST TIP OF ICEBERG

DETOUR LAKE PROJECT

DETOUR LAKE - "It's only just begun," says project geologist Joe Spiteri.

The Detour Lake gold mining joint venture (200 km north of Timmins) is moving steadily toward its projected start of operations in October of 1983, but Spiteri, who works out of the Detour Lake office in the 101 mall in Timmins, says his project may eventually be just "one of many" in the same area.

"There is a very high likelihood that other ore bodies will be found in this same general area," he said. "We've got 200 claims, a quarter-square mile each, tied up, so that only represents a 50-square mile area. I think other companies will be undertaking exploration of this area."

Spiteri says that while he has no firm information that other exploration programs are turning up anything, he suggested that past history would indicate that other ore deposits would be found.

"I envision a camp, perhaps not on the scale of the Porcupine Camp, but maybe something like Red Lake, where two or three mines are operating.

"Once the road is in, access is going to be so much easier," he said.

APPENDIX A

Detour Lake Gold Exploration Might be Just Tip of Iceberg

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Detour Lake Project

"I know about the concern everyone has for the environment, but I think as the area is developed mineralogically, a permanent townsite of some kind is going to evolve."

The project is costing \$147 million, not including the cost of any future underground development. Amoco Canada Ltd., one of three partners in the venture (along with Campbell Red Lake and Dome Mines Ltd.) has spent another \$18 million in pre-development exploration.

"We're going to begin with an open pit operation," says Spiteri, "because it's a lot easier to get heavy equipment operators than it is to get skilled miners. We envision a maximum pit 650 meters long by 250 meters wide, with a depth of 120 vertical metres from the surface."

Construction on the concentrator is "about half done" says site supervisor for technical services, David Henderson. In the extraction process, grinding will be fully autogenous (large pieces of ore are used to grind small pieces - no steel balls are required), and cyanidation and the carbon-in-pulp process will be used to extract the gold.

Production capacity of the building going up right now will be 2,000 tons per day. A building expansion will be required for expansion to 3,000 tons per day. Upon expansion, Detour will be Canada's largest mine.

Ontario transportation and communications minister James Snow visited the site, along with Cochrane North MPP Rene Piche (PC). Snow was on hand to view the progress being made on the road to the site. The 150 km road is being built Northeast of Highway 652, east of Cochrane.

APPENDIX B

MEETINGS IN TORONTO

GOVT. RECEPTIVE TO I.F. GETTING DETOUR BENEFITS

IROQUOIS FALLS (Staff) - A plan to link up the Detour Lake gold property with the Town of Iroquois Falls by way of Abitibi-Price Inc. haul routes was well received by the provincial government says Mayor Lawrence Cutten.

The gold field, labelled to become the major Canadian producer, lies 150 km northeast of here.

The first in a series of meetings was held Monday in Toronto between representatives of town council, the chamber of commerce and Natural Resources Minister James Auld, Transportation and Communications Minister James Snow, Northern Affairs Minister Leo Bernier, Cochrane North MPP and Resources Development Secretary Rene Brunelle and Cochrane South MPP Alan Pope, minister without portfolio.

The meeting initially was surrounded by an air of secrecy when a ban as to its contents was ordered.

PROGRESS

In the first news release on the issue to date, Pope said the purpose of the meeting was to obtain a progress report on the Detour Lake project as well as receive some indication of the phasing of the development.

APPENDIX B

Meetings in Toronto

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Govt. Receptive to I.F. Getting Detour Benefits

And although no commitments were made by the province, Mayor Cutten said today he is satisfied with the meeting.

The mayor said the Iroquois Falls delegation impressed upon the government the importance of an access road from the town to the property.

The Abitibi haul routes, owned and maintained by the company, intersect Highway 652 and lead to the mine site, said Mayor Cutten.

The province now is faced with the task of selecting an access route to the site. Both Iroquois Falls and the Town of Cochrane have expressed concern that the road would be built from Quebec instead of in Ontario, allowing the transportation of supplies and employees to flow across the Quebec boarder.

Mayor Cutten said the town made the government aware that the startup of the mine would coincide with the job reduction here as a result of the new Abitibi newsprint machine.

He said he feels Iroquois Falls and the Town of Cochrane have enough available lots to service the Detour Lake work force.

The government realizes that no single community can absorb the total Detour Lake workforce, said Mayor Cutten, adding that it also recognizes the reasonableness of the Iroquois Falls proposal.

APPENDIX B

Meetings in Toronto

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Govt. Receptive to I.F. Getting Detour Benefits

He said both towns are working closely together so that the benefits will go to both communities.

JOINT EFFORT

"It's a total joint effort," he said.

The delegation also pressed the government to guarantee that the Detour Lake project would benefit both communities as well as all of Northern Ontario. No guarantee was made, said Mayor Cutten, but he said the government was receptive to the idea.

Assurances were given at the meeting that no decision has been made on the use of existing roads and that council will be notified before any final decision is made, said the mayor.

APPENDIX C

AN EDITORIAL

NEED ROAD TO NORTHEAST TO OPEN VAST POTENTIAL

Rene Brunelle calls it "a sleeping giant" and there is no doubt that the Detour Lake Mine development in particular and development of the whole of Northeastern Ontario will be just as grand as the provincial secretary for resources development dreams it will be.

According to Malcolm Taschereau, president of Dome Mines, which has signed a joint venture with Amoco Canada Petroleum Company Limited, for joint exploration of the Detour Lake property, there is "no question there is a mine there, the question is its size." Another question is subsidiary gold mining prospects and whether they will be found in Northeastern Ontario, or 13 kilometres to the east in Quebec.

And, as if the new gold mine now under extensive exploration wasn't enough to give promise to a bright future for Northeastern Ontario, there is the long-known wealth and potential of the Onakawana lignite and allied deposits to be considered.

All of which leads to the necessity of the construction of provincial development roads to these important sites of wealth, not only wealth for Northeastern Ontario, but for all of the province.

APPENDIX C

An Editorial

Page 2

Need Road to Northeast to Open Vast Potential

True, it will be at least 1983 before anything is done to develop Onakawana as a lignite-fired generating station site if that proposal is adopted after all necessary studies have been completed, but lignite as a generating station fuel is not the only option available to Onakawana, according to Olaf Wolff.

The lignite could also be converted to methanol and supply a large share of this fossil fuel-saving additive to cut Canadian consumption of conventional sources for the next 30 to 40 years.

And although Detour Lake isn't expected to go into production for at least another six years, its officials have indicated a preference for a north-south road link, preferably with Cochrane, along which they would establish a townsite when development of the new gold mine becomes a reality.

The time to think about construction of a development road into Northeastern Ontario, or even a series of development roads which will lead to the tapping of what is believed to be the great development potential of this region is now.

To await the time of actual production at these two important mine sites is to wait until it is too late to prevent Detour Lake from looking eastward to Quebec not only for its hydro-electric power, but its manpower and the other needs of a producing gold mining property.

APPENDIX C

An Editorial

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Need Road to Northeast to Open Vast Potential

At present, Leo Bernier, the provincial minister of Northern Affairs, is content to await the results of future development at gold mine site before deciding whether the Ontario government should commit itself to building a road.

But he ignores Onakawana, which although it is served with a railroad, still needs a road link to achieve its potential, particularly if its future as a fuel source for a hydro generating plant are not realized.

The future of Northeastern Ontario looks brighter than it has in years, but the province can make the future even brighter by meeting its responsibility for providing the facilities new industry in Northeastern Ontario will need.

APPENDIX D

PROOF PROVIDED OF MINE INTEREST IN ABITIBI WORKERS

IROQUOIS FALLS (staff) - Proof was offered this morning that Cochrane South MPP Alan Pope (PC) has been successful in receiving assurances from a mining company that any employee laid off from Abitibi-Price mill here will have "job opportunities" available, if interested.

At a meeting with members of the various union locals in the mill, Pope and Ontario Labor Minister Dr. Robert Elgie released a letter from Campbell Red Lake Mines Ltd., which is undertaking a \$143.2 million gold mine development project at Detour Lake, 135 kilometres northeast of here.

The creation of fulltime jobs at the mine, which is a project of Campbell's parent company, Dome Mines Ltd. and Amoco Canada Petroleum Co., is expected to happen about the time that a revocation to the mill here will eliminate about 131 jobs.

The changes to the paper mill will guarantee the jobs of another 1154 workers for many years to come. In order to encourage Abitibi to modernize the mill, the provincial Progressive Conservative government provided \$.15 million and the federal government \$7.5 million of the \$118 million cost.

It has been estimated by the company that only 103 jobs will be affected, although the agreement with the two senior governments allows Abitibi to eliminate 131.

APPENDIX D

Proof Provided of Mine Interest in Abitibi Workers

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It is expected that some workers will take early retirement, others will not be replaced when they leave the company's employment (attrition) and some will be retrained for other jobs.

In a letter to Pope, Campbell vice-president, operations C. H. Brehaut of Toronto says: "Ken Hill, project manager for Detour Lake, and myself have already entered into discussion with T. M. Devine (mill manager) of Abitibi-Price and have established a working relationship with Abitibi-Price on this matter.

"It will be to our advantage to attract as many of these people as we can because of their strong northern roots and I can assure you that job opportunities and training arrangements will be available to all those who are interested."

Dr. Elgie said to the union representatives that "experience shows when the news of a layoff first comes out there is a great deal of anxiety on the part of the workers and their families. This is usually proven to be unjustified when the issue is settled."

WORKING TOGETHER

The labor minister said he has been working closely with his cabinet colleague, Pope is minister without portfolio in the Bill Davis cabinet, and even has assigned one of his assistants to be involved in the on-going discussions with Abitibi and Dome.

"My ministry will make certain no harm occurs to Abitibi workers because of the situation created by the modernization," said the labor minister.

APPENDIX D

Proof Provided of Mine Interest in Abitibi Workers

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Working Together

He said there was a manpower adjustment committee which will assist those workers who want to get into other employment fields. Upgrading and retraining also will be available.

FOOTNOTES

1. Margaret Tanaszi, The Road to Detour Lake, Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, 1981. p. 3.
2. Beaumont-Major & Associates, Ltd., Report on the Effects on Iroquois Falls of a Direct Road Link between Iroquois Falls and Detour Lake Mining Project, 1981. p. 2.
3. Ontario Hydro, Public Participation in Route and Site Planning, 1980. Appendix D.
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5. The Environmental Applications Group Limited, Environmental Analysis of Alternative Transmission Alignments, 1981. p. 3-18.
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8. Ministry of the Environment, General Guidelines for the Preparation of Environmental Assessments, July 1978. p. 31
9. Ibid., p. 31.
10. Ibid., p. 34.
11. The Cochrane and Area Skidders, Truckers and Heavy Equipment Association, A Presentation, 1981.

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